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GUANGMING RIBAO ON SYSTEM, STRUCTURE

HK281346 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jul 87 p 3

[Article by Shi Yajun [4258 0068 6511]: "Concerning the Question of the Relationship Between System and Structure"]

[Text] The irresistible reform trend demands that people neither refuse socialist transformation on the grounds of upholding the socialist system, nor negate the socialist system by reason of conducting socialist reform. This shows that upholding the socialist system and conducting socialist reform is an objective process of unity. What this process solves is the relationship of contradiction between system and structure.

People usually treat the socialist system and socialist structure as an entity. In fact, they are not an entity. System is different from structure. System is a common, fundamental norm of conduct that a society sets for the people; a political, economic, and cultural entity formed under specific historical conditions; and an inherent, general definition of the essence and reflection form of the social pattern. So it is relatively stable. Structure means the setup of such organizations as state administrative organs, enterprises, and institutions, and means a setup and organizational system in the fields of subordinative relationships and the definition of power limits. Structure is the concrete reflection and the implementation form of system and has a trend of uncertainty. System and structure are linked to each other, and system decides structure and is reflected by structure. The formation and development of structure is not only restricted by system, but is also influenced by such non-system factors as cultural attainment, traditional ideas, customs, public feelings, psychological elements, old habits, and certain patterns and experiences. So, structure is usually in a state where various factors depend on each other for existence, which is relatively complicated compared to the intrinsic qualities of system, and therefore has the possibility of changing itself in the whole process. Therefore, structure is unstable. As compared to system, structure is apt to make deviations, to age, and to change its shape.

The relationship of contradiction between system and structure is interwoven with the movement of contradiction between productive forces and production relations, and between economic foundation and the superstructure, and hence becomes a barometer of the movement of the fundamental contradiction which is non-conflicting.

The socialist system gives an inherent, general definition of the essence and development trend of socialist society. The advantage of this society lies in practicing public ownership under which most social members possess the means of production; in fully exercising socialist democracy in political, economic, and cultural fields; in arousing people's initiative to the maximum; and in opening up broad prospects for developing productive forces. On the one hand, our current structure (including the economic structure before reform, and political, cultural, scientific, and technological structure) was established in accordance with the basic demands of the socialist system; on the other, as the socialist society is a process of social practice interwoven with objective social conditions and subjective spiritual elements, so the inert elements of subjective and objective conditions will inevitably permeate the process and try to express themselves in a certain form. The current structure is thus stamped with the brand of passive factors. On the whole, the common defects of our current structure are over concentration of power, overlapping administrative organizations, bureaucracy, overstaffed and underworked organs, inefficiency, outdated management methods, egalitarianism, and a rigid organizational structure. As a result, enterprises and grassroots production units cannot be invigorated and people's initiative cannot be brought into full play, hampering the development of productive forces and the progress of the society. For a long time, these defects of our structure have become a foundation and hotbed for spreading and developing such malpractices as taking advantage of one's power to seek private interests, exploiting public offices for private purposes, corruption, practicing patriarchal relations, and retaliating against others. This aspect of the current structure does not meet the basic requirement of the socialist system and strikingly reflects the contradiction between socialist production relations and productive forces, and the contradiction between the superstructure and economic foundation, thus making it impossible to bring into full play the advantages of the socialist system.

On the basis of realizing this relationship of contradiction between system and structure, it will not be difficult for us to understand the necessity for, and essence of, the on-going reform.

The development of socialist productive forces will inevitably demand the removal of all inert elements binding it, for changing irrational elements in production relations and the superstructure which impede its development, and for replacing them with new rational elements. For nearly 30 years before the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and conducting reform, we had failed to vigorously develop productive forces, so the advantages of the socialist system were in fact not brought into full play, causing losses to socialist construction. If we let this situation continue to exist, it would further harm the image of socialism. The essential problem lies in our irrational current structure. Therefore, to vigorously develop social productive forces and to turn the possible advantages of the socialist system into a reality, we must reform the current structure. Without reform, socialism will have no way out.

Solving the problem of contradiction between system and structure is a direct demand for solving the contradiction between socialist production relations and productive forces, and between the superstructure and the economic basis. This is the essence of socialist reform. What socialist reform wants to solve is the structural imbalance, but it does not negate and overthrow the socialist system. The relationship of contradiction between the socialist system and the current structure indicates that the factor that impedes development of productive forces is not the socialist system itself, but the current structure that deviates from the socialist system. As the socialist system coincides with development of productive forces, and treats the development as its essential target, so not only the productive forces, but also the advantages of the socialist system, are inhibited by the current structure. In essence, socialist reform is an operation to change the structural pattern in order to still better uphold the socialist system, and an intrinsic process of self-improvement of the socialist system. Under the party's leadership, through conscious action of the masses, and with unremitting efforts exerted by us in a planned and organized way, purposefully, and step by step, socialist reform will certainly achieve the expected result. Only with the success of reform can productive forces be greatly developed, and can the advantages of the socialist system be brought into full play.

In short, upholding the socialist system and conducting socialist reform is a process of seeking unity. In ideological understanding, we should neglect neither of them.

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HONG KONG JOURNAL INTERVIEWS WANG RUOWANG

HK280141 Hong Kong PAI HSING in Chinese No 148, 16 Jul 87 pp 9-14

[Feature: "Wang Ruowang Discusses the State, the Party, and Himself in a Special Interview"—interviewed by Wei Ke [7279 2960] on 26 June 1987—capitalized passages printed in boldface]

[Text] The clock had already struck 8; Wang Ruowang's living quarters, located on the second floor in a terrace house on a certain lane, Gaoan Road, were still shrouded in gloom. Through the passage from the entrance of the lane to the house, two or three so-called "old aunts" and "old worker masters" were sitting on their bamboo stools, seemingly at leisure, as if they were "enjoying the cool air in the open," but constantly "on guard" for something. Invariably, they kept a vigilant eye on, looking up and down at anyone approaching the Wang's residence, then held a whispered "discussion" as soon as the visitor passed them by. There was actually no grounds or need for such queer behavior.

"After the public security man searched the living quarters of the revered Wang, a camera was found in the opposite window aimed at, and taking pictures of the activities of the Wangs--aren't you afraid of it?"

My warm-hearted friend asked about this good-naturedly calling my attention.

I slapped his shoulder without saying a word, and smiled. He deciphered my gesture, and smiled, too. Then stepping up our pace, we soon found ourselves inside the study of Mr Wang Ruowang.

The study, some 20 square meters in size, was in all its simplicity, functioning as a sitting-room as well. Close to the windows was the revered Wang's desk, with documents, newspapers and journals, and reference books spread all over it. A fluorescent desk lamp with a pink shade faced the center of the desk. That space, no longer than a few square feet, was the very field on which Wang Ruowang, who Deng Xiaoping censured as "extremely arrogant," fought day and night with his weapon, a pen. Behind his chair was a row of wooden shelves one would find in an ordinary public library, with many newspapers and journals carrying articles concerning Wang himself inserted at random between the books; that was very convenient for the revered Wang

indeed. The wall above the shelves was decorated with traditional Chinese paintings and a calendar, gifts from close friends. The only two articles up to the standards of a "bourgeois" lifestyle were a refrigerator and an electric fan. It seemed that to save electricity, the fan in question was "ready just in case" and was very rarely in use even in the presence of guests including us. Because it was constantly covered with a specially sewn case of smartly printed cloth. Therefore it was more of an ornament than an appliance.

When we entered, Wang Ruowang rose immediately to welcome us. He had said elsewhere he would soon be celebrating his 70th birthday; but he still looked in his fifties, full of energy with a sonorous voice. All the more he took on the admirable feature of an upright Chinese scholar in his white mane.

It sounds unbelievable that this "target" of "opposition to bourgeois liberalization," who was expelled from the CPC not long ago, joined the CYL at the age of only 16, and was a veteran communist of more than 50 years standing. He experienced three great disasters in his lifetime. In 1934, he was arrested and thrown into prison by the KMT for joining the CYL and undertaking CPC underground activities. In 1957, he was labeled a rightist, expelled from the CPC, and sent to a reform-through-labor camp. Again in the "cultural revolution" in 1966, he was thrown into prison by "the gang of four." The current attack on him in "the opposition to bourgeois liberalization" is actually the fourth disaster in his lifetime. His CPC membership was expunged, his residence searched, and he himself summoned for interrogation by the public security men not very long ago. I felt that the whole thing was unfair to Wang, and asked him: "Didn't it say that despite the expulsion from the party organization, you belong to the category of contradictions among the people, and still maintain the status of a writer and a comrade? Then why should they have used the apparatus of dictatorship against you? Did they have a search warrant when they came?"

Thus, my interview with Wang Ruowang began.

Contributing to Newspapers and Journals Overseas Was the Cause of the Disaster, His Residence Was Searched Soon After His Expulsion From the CPC

Wang: The search took place between 1700 and 2200 on 18 January. Their attention was focused on copying articles I had written, materials I had collected, and my address book during the search. All those people were in uniform, from the public security bureau system. I reckon that they were afraid of my contacts with people in Hong Kong and Macao. Their search was on the ground that I had contributed to Hong Kong newspapers, and they had gotten ahold of those articles in publications.

Wei: Did they refer to the one carried in PLAYBOY? (Editor's note: PLAYBOY, Chinese edition, Apr 1987 carried a special interview with Wang Ruowang.)

Wang: No. Some article prior to that.

Wei: Did they mind the PLAYBOY interview?

Wang: They haven't queried me about it since its publication. Because I made it clear to them that when the man came for an interview, he did not tape it during the process. The interview was sorted out based on his memory; that accounts for the reversed order in some of my speeches. But the viewpoints there are all mine, that I agreed.

The very article that triggered my disaster was carried in the Hong Kong HSIN PAO under a pseudonym. Anyway, the relevant authorities got hold of my manuscripts.

Wei: How could they have done so?

Wang: Because I got rid of them as waste paper. We were doing a thorough cleaning of the house for the spring festival; our maid servant sold the waste paper to the salvage station for 9 fen, I wasn't quite clear about it. I am used to getting rid of my manuscripts because those people have always aimed to get at me. But the manuscripts were not shredded, and they got hold of them as something treasured. Of course, this was wrong of them. Why can't writers contribute to the press overseas? There is no stipulation in the constitution that such contributions are prohibited. Criticism could have been conducted on my writings, whether they were good or bad, and correction could have been made if something was out of line with facts. No, they never pointed out anything like that. I did reflect the situation of the student movement in Shanghai. Therefore they had to investigate, to find out about my background in the student movement, wondering whether I was pulling the wires. Some of the conditions carried in the "PLAYBOY interview" were correct; but my impressions on the interviewer are rather vague now. He didn't say he was from Hong Kong; later, I found out that he was a Shanghai man. Was he a reporter from PLAYBOY I had not the slightest idea. Anyway, there is a point for correction in that article; it said I had been to Suzhou for a month; that wasn't true. I didn't go to Suzhou, but Yangzhou, to visit my son. The viewpoints are all mine; I don't conceal my views. Deng Xiaoping says we should take a clear-cut stand; that's exactly me, I take a clear-cut stand, too.

Wei: Do you have any idea what sort of a journal the PLAYBOY is?

Wang: No. The visitor didn't mention anything about his intention of writing a story about our meeting.

Wei: Did PLAYBOY solicit your opinion before publishing the interview?

Wang: No. It reprinted an article of mine published in the Mainland, but failed to make a note from which paper it was excerpted. People wouldn't be happy about it, thinking that I had contributed the same article to PLAYBOY. It didn't matter much anyway. I didn't find out about it until the Taiwan LIEN HO PAO did an except on it. That's everything about the PLAYBOY interview as far as I am concerned.

Wei: How did you find out about the reprint in LIEN HO PAO?

Wang: There was a copy of the paper in the reference room of our unit. I was a bit tense after reading it, but the authorities did not investigate it.

Erroneous Party Leadership Is the Root-cause of the Nation's Backwardness

Wei: What do you think is the real cause for the authorities handling your case recently?

Wang: I don't think I can clarify this point for you. However, based on my own view, the following could possibly be it. They settled all my old accounts prior to 1979. In fact, the objective of all my articles written since 1979 has been explicit enough; it is precisely to oppose the concept and practice of the very person who conjured up the Great Cultural Revolution. I have been a prolific writer, answered the requests of all newspapers, big or small, and signed all my articles in my true name; it is not my style to assume a pseudonym. Invariably, it was the very same ultra-leftist people that attacked me. Since the fall of the gang of four, I had been on their black list in every unrest, but I stood intact. That was because the political atmosphere was unfavorable to them; they would put me on the list in any case, because I always charged tit-for-tat against their views. Besides, I did reveal some of the seamy side as things were. We have things in common, Pe Yang and I, as well as differences, which lie in the fact that I don't blame the people nor our cadres. I ATTEMPTED TO DIG INTO THE ROOT-CAUSE OF OUR PROBLEMS, AND FOUND THAT WHAT LED TO THE BACKWARDNESS OF OUR NATION, ECONOMIC RETROGRESSION, AND THE POVERTY-STRICKEN STATE OUR PEOPLE LANDED IN WAS NONE OTHER THAN THE ERRONEOUS PARTY LEADERSHIP. Mao Zedong in particular had too many feudal ideas himself. Therefore, in my speeches and articles, I seized every chance to spearhead against Mao's errors whenever possible; otherwise, I would be doing wrong to others, making no differentiation between people's merits and mistakes. Now their practice is precisely wrong, saying nothing about the old man's errors, the root of all other mistakes; on the contrary, the old man is still being commended, and his words continue to be quoted as the highest instruction; this is something I certainly don't like. The disastrous consequences of his errors have not been completely redeemed to date. We have not been doing a good job about it, but resorted to telling lies on many issues. I have made it a rule not to quote Mao Zedong's sayings in my articles; if I ever did, it was for the sole purpose of criticizing him. This made some people very unhappy, because they have to make a living under the banner of Mao Zedong, and they are still using the big stick inherited from him! The people have gone through a great deal of suffering; however, some people have always made it a point to worship Mao. Therefore, many people feel bad about it deep down in their hearts. Because this fundamental point is still not clarified, a series of problems have cropped up. So I became a thorn in the flesh to those people. THE FACT THAT MAO'S PROBLEMS HAVE NOT BEEN CRITICIZED LED TO THE ANNUAL EMERGENCE IN RECENT YEARS OF A "REACTION" OF LEFTIST QUALITIES; IT WAS NONE OTHER THAN THE ELIMINATION OF SPIRITUAL POLLUTION. That was why I wrote an essay entitled "A Cold Wind in Spring" in 1979; true enough, a cold wind was invariably being

conjured up every spring, emerging invariably under the banner of Mao Zedong. Therefore I don't think I am in the wrong, and I always stick to the orientation of my struggle. I believe I am correct, and I adhere to my belief. Meanwhile all their attacks on me are impotent, because they would not dare to open a face-to-face debate with me on an equal footing; all they can do is to bring me down and to deprive me of the right to speech, while engaging in sabre rattling. This demonstrates that truth is not on their side. If they had truth with them, they would not be afraid of a debate, or fair play, and would write and let write.

The Power of the Discipline Inspection Commission So Expanded That It Became a Conservative Fortress

The party constitution stipulates that the handling of party membership should be discussed primarily at the party branch level. They said, however, the discipline inspection commission may directly handle such cases by quoting a specific regulation in the party constitution. There's no need to go into details as to whether it is correct for the discipline inspection commission to directly handle my case; generally speaking, this specific regulation is to be applied to major cases, such as high treason. My case does not involve robbery or any criminal offenses, but different views in my speeches. It was irrational that that specific regulation should have been applied to my case.

Moreover, the organization of the CPC Discipline Inspection Commission is in itself a confused concept and is placed above the CPC Central Committee. It is an organization transcending all organizations. Its very existence is not for the benefit of the people and socialism, but for the work arrangement of veteran comrades, so that it might be less painful for them to step down from their posts. It is all right to make arrangements for those veteran comrades, but to endow this organization with excessive power will inevitably turn it into a conservative and obstinate fortress. Things that have happened in the past few years have shown that many things striking at, and impeding reform were doings of the discipline inspection commission. At the 1986 Hangzhou Conference, I raised a cry of warning; I said, I am a communist, and I have faith in the CPC, honestly, I am loyal to the party; but I have discovered something that transcends the power of the CPC; hence, the emergence of a crisis: the beginning of a process in which the party stops being a party, and the state stops being a state. Just as it was during the time of the cultural revolution when the existence of the Central cultural revolution group transcended the party leadership, and the party itself receded into [word indistinct] Viewing things from this angle, history will make its evaluation regarding who is more loyal to the party principle.

I found it unfair when I was expelled from the CPC, because the party principle was violated. A meeting was called to announce my expulsion, but I had no idea what people were called to participate in it, for my presence was never requested. They allowed the statement of just one of the parties. There goes the old practice again.

The Ultra-Leftist Sect Made Long Preparations for "The Opposition to Bourgeois Liberalization"

However, the writers and the Shanghai Federation of Literary and Art Circles unanimously disapproved of their practice. Before my expulsion from the CPC was made known, a few people from the discipline inspection commission led me into a small room to read the material they had prepared, and asked for my personal opinion and signature on it. I said, what's the use of my opinion when the material is already printed out? I added, this is a repetition of historical mistakes; and I wrote the following statement: "Historical lessons are still fresh in our memories; it is my hope that greater importance will be attached to the future of the party and state." The cut of that axe was deep. It was a great blow at our new hopes for our nation and reform. However, the blow fell on none other than those leftist people themselves, and the stone fell right on their own feet. That was tragic for them.

However, the emergence of these conditions was understandable, and not accidental. Preparations had been going on over the past few years, the 1983 exercise of "opposition to spiritual pollution" in particular.

But the father of that exercise really stinks and is forsaken by all. However, those people would not take their defeat lying down, and bided their time for a comeback. The student movement provided them with the opportunity. Deng Xiaoping happened to be very angry about the student movement, and when the ultra-leftist scenario was dished up, it corresponded with Deng's sentiment. That is my personal view, which may not be correct.

Another condition was that in the latter half of 1986, I wrote a few articles which really hit the nail on the head and hurt those ultra-leftist people. Why did I do it? Because it was crucial; reform would soon begin, if those issues were not touched upon, there wouldn't be any reform at all.

Wei: Were all those articles published?

Wang: Some were, but others were taken away during the search. I was editing a journal, which never came into existence, even the title of the journal had been fixed, with contributions in hand, and the legal proceedings completed. That took place in 1985, the journal was entitled "Kuaizai" [1816 0762--"The Joy of Speaking One's Mind"]. For the publication of "Kuaizhai," I worked several days and nights without a break on an article. But non-official journals are so far unable to find a suitable soil and climate for their existence in China. The exerted pressure on the publishing house, which eventually canceled the contract on the publication of our journal. That was in violation of the constitution! So I had to return the contributions, while keeping my own manuscripts. Regarding that particular article, I have undertaken some research; I might as well tell you its title. Only under the present situation, it is not likely to have a chance for publication. It is "A Study in the Origin of Leftism," in which there is really something that would greatly annoy the ultra-leftists, namely: China has hoped for socialism, but facts have proved that it wouldn't do, so we might as well

return to feudalism. This is simply because we leaped, and bypassed the capitalist phase; that in itself was in violation of the Marxist law governing social progress. If every communist and party leader may violate the law governing social progress, then only the form of political power seems to be socialist, but not the essences. This will prove all the more that the Marxist principle of economics is irrefutable. Following that, I dealt with the issue of what to do. The fact is turning back is out of the question. [as printed] TO REFORM, IT IS NECESSARY TO GO BACK TO WHAT I CONSIDER AS "A MAKE-UP LESSON; AND TO DO OUR BEST TO ADOPT THE CAPITALIST PRODUCTION MODE. Am I wrong there? No. Actually, the ultra-leftist theorists are holding the same view, only they don't call it a "make-up lesson," but "supplement" instead. What is the great difference between "a make-up lesson" and "supplement?" Why do they make such a great fuss and label the "make-up lesson" as "bourgeois liberalization," while anointing the "supplement" as Marxism-Leninism? Hu Sheng, president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences spared no effort to write a long article in RENMIN RIBAO entitled "Why China Should Refrain From the Capitalist Road." He began by criticizing my "make-up lesson theory" in the first few lines of his article, but continued to expound the need to supplement with things capitalist! Ha ha!

Nobody Has Ever Upheld Total Westernization

Wei: What is the major difference between your concept and negating socialism and upholding total westernization?

Wang: I believe that we can just as well refer to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, not necessarily all things capitalist; who has ever said anything about total Westernization? I explained in a Hong Kong journal in 1986, it is impossible to implement total Westernization in China. I pointed out, the concept of total Westernization is illogical in itself. First, nobody in the mainland has ever proposed total Westernization. And second, even if it had been proposed, would it work? No. Beginning with the Westernization Movement, those advocating total Westernization invariably failed. The actual social conditions containing various cultural factors would account for the inevitable failure of total Westernization even if the concept were to be vigorously advocated. It was entirely out of context when some people criticized this theory. As everyone knows, those who went in for Westernization over the past century or two brought about the acceleration in China's modernization. In passing, total Westernization has been realized in the houses of many of our senior officials with their color television sets, electronic appliances, and even Westernized automobiles. China has only horse-drawn carriages to boast of. Honestly, the criticism against total Westernization is a sheer farce. Even if learning from the West on the part of Asian nations is called Westernization, is there any Asian nation that has so far succeeded in total Westernization? Taiwan has done well in Westernization, but it has preserved many things Chinese. Has not Japan gone far enough in Westernization? Not really. They have to date maintained the tea ceremony, the go, and the geisha; they even retain most Han characters in their written language, and that is sinicization. Besides, the Japanese have kept their emperor intact; so how can Japan ever accomplish total Westernization? It is absurd to take total

Westernization for the major content of bourgeois liberalization. Even in Fang Lizhi's speeches, he has never proposed total Westernization. He did mention it once, but immediately explained that it referred to multi-dimensional imports in that context. "Total Westernization" and "multi-dimensional import" are two entirely different concepts.

Imports, other than multi-dimensional ones, simply do not work in China. For instance, isn't it true that "the bankruptcy law" is an import, too? However, it is not multi-dimensional, so "the bankruptcy law" changed when applied to China, and played a rotten role. Many factories that failed to survive, out of irresponsibility and bureaucracy declare bankruptcy, and get subsidies from the state! The state would support their workers anyway! Well! Well! Isn't it nice and easy "to go bankrupt"!

The "Common Prosperity" Concept Has Impeded Reform

ALL THINGS WESTERN WILL UNDERGO "CHANGES" ONCE THEY ARE APPLIED TO CHINA; THEY WILL CHANGE INTO SOMETHING AWFUL AND BE CONVERTED INTO A MELTING-POT CULTURE; ONCE THINGS WESTERN GET INTO THE MELTING POT, THEY TURN SOUR AND SMELLY. I am just citing the bankruptcy law as an example. For another example, the responsibility system is fine. In fact, the system has changed our old concept of ownership; the moment the responsibility system is adopted, production goes up and business thrives. Now the responsibility system is adopted in China; likewise, it has turned sour. Why? Extortion and apportioning are the fashion of the day. Besides, as soon as the responsibility system is implemented in a unit, prices for all raw materials and other materials will go up for it. The same with taxation. Originally there was only one category of tax; however, there are now four categories of taxes affecting one as soon as one's unit implements the responsibility system, lest one should become rich. Now, let's turn back to what Deng Xiaoping refers to as "common prosperity." How can reform go on if this concept remains unchanged? It was precisely on such grounds that I wrote an article entitled "My Understanding of Polarization" in 1986, which was published in the TEQU GONGREN BAO ["SEZ WORKERS' DAILY."] That article was spread widely overseas with many reprints. That was a rather short essay, less than 3,000 characters; concisely, however, I managed to demonstrate my points, and was actually in discussion with Comrade Deng Xiaoping. Of course, my article might not be all-inclusive in its presentation; after all, it was confined to only 3,000 characters, so how could it be all-inclusive? Anyone can help supplement my points! Was it proper, the way they criticized me for that article? Was that what they call spiritual civilization? I had annoyed Comrade Deng Xiaoping, and he in turn criticized me as being arrogant; could my disastrous situation have something to do with that essay? I have no idea. But what I want to say is, as a citizen, let alone a communist, I cannot but worry about the future of our nation. I don't have many years ahead, and I have nothing to fear. I want to speak my mind; like one who has a piece of fish bone stuck in one's throat, one will have no peace before one manages to get it out of his throat.

His Right to Publication Deprived With the Expulsion From the Party

Wei: In their message to people abroad, the authorities said when you three people were expelled from the party, that you belong to the category of contradictions among the people, you still maintain the status of a writer, and you are allowed to write; what do you think about this?

Wang: With the declaration of the "opposition to bourgeois liberalization," their image in the world has been greatly damaged. I think we should look at it this way: We must admit that there are some differences in our treatment today from the time of the Cultural Revolution. They simply cannot make history repeat itself. Besides, we should evaluate things based on reality, not what they say. For example, they might criticize me for anything; however, it was precisely in January and February that almost all journals in various localities wanted to carry my articles or reports concerning me, even if the contents were not very important. Some of them wanted to show why I am in such good health. A Shanghai journal, KANGFU [RECOVERY] even took some photos of me, and invited me to say something about "the way to good health." But no, even that would not pass their censorship. Ha, ha! They were afraid lest people's life expectancy should grow if they would follow my example. It was very foolish of them to act so. Take Nanjing's QINGCHUN [YOUTH] for another example. It decided to publish one of my articles; and the issue that carried it was already in circulation. Then, the QINGCHUN office got notice that the circulation of the issue in question was banned and must be removed from all news stands. I don't have the manuscript of that article any more, but I'll manage to get a xerox copy for you. It was entitled "The Scientific Cells in Me." The issue was printed and in circulation; then all copies had to be withdrawn from the bookstands. Of course, it was impossible to recover all the copies. Then, a reprint of the issue in question was involved as well as a loss of between 40,000 and 50,000 yuan because of the fuss. They never balked at it.

In fact, that essay centers on my attitude in studying science, with a few remarks criticizing Jiang Qing; and nothing more. To make money, many journals carried some articles I had written a few years back, which had nothing to do with the present; but no, that wouldn't do. They were forced to make an examination all the same. When they found nothing wrong in their examination, the authorities said they should at least examine why they tried "to be in the swim" from the very beginning; so that also became a topic for examination.

Wei: Are there any people who got involved because of you?

Wang: On the surface no, but actually there were! Done in the way which the Shanghai refer to as "underhanded," or under some pretext! For example, a young student who had some ties with me was ordered to leave school. Actually, he was kicked out of school simply because he had participated in the student movement. Another young student was asked to leave school and his parents got notice from the school authorities to take him home. That was a heavy blow for the young man.

On the surface, I was not prosecuted; and I should say there is some difference from the past. The difference lies in their refraining from labeling. However, an invisible label still exists. Isn't "bourgeois liberalization" a brand-new label?

If I am sent an invitation from abroad, will they give me approval? There is no reason why I shouldn't go; that's my freedom, and civil right.

Wei: Have you ever received such invitations overseas?

Wang: No, not this year. Although there were some in the past, some of them were negated by the authorities. Therefore, I have never been abroad. Liu Binyan was allowed to go abroad, but not me. Fang Lizhi has been abroad many times.

Wei: Do you think you will be given approval for a lecturing tour abroad, if you are sent such an invitation?

Wang: That depends on the situation. I believe our leadership may take this into account, as the improvement of their images requires.

Wei: With regard to your writing, is it true that there are fewer restrictions on your views, as you are no longer a communist?

Wang: Even so, there are still other things weighing on me. They have blocked all channels to the publication of my writings. Therefore, we should evaluate a person from his action and behavior but not the eloquence in his statement.

Ultra-Leftism Will Not Be Eliminated If Mao Is Not Criticized

Wei: In your estimation, will the Central Authorities tone down the criticism against you to some extent, given the most recent development in the situation?

Wang: The possibility does exist. But there's one point I must explain. Just as is the case with Mao Zedong's ghost, which could evoke an earthquake any time if it is not done away with through criticism, so could those ultra-leftists on the strength of the slogan "opposition to bourgeois liberalization." Because they are always in office and remain the apples in somebody's eyes; so long as the opposition to bourgeois liberalization is to be carried out in the next 2 decades and even 7 or 8 decades as declared in a recent statement, so long as this slogan is maintained, all ultraleftists can conceal themselves under it, turn mouldy and smelly, and start another earthquake. This slogan itself is like an elastic bag, which will hold everything. But one point we must make clear, this slogan is the outcome of ultra-leftist views. Here your excellency may mark my words, I have experienced the toughest pressure. It cannot be any tougher from now on. I can take it. But if somebody wants me to change my views, that is out of the question. In due course, I will certainly study. Here I want to make a statement that I am not a jack of all trades. But I may make good use of these months to read and to study some relevant materials. Of late, I have studied three books from the West on the third ideological trend, and some on literature and art, too. I studied some articles of my opponents, too. But not all of them. There are some writers whose writings I simply cannot stomach; for I discovered that they have maintained, in all their vigor, the stereotyped style, which was considered unreadable even back at the time of the Yanan Rectification campaign.

Wei: But you weren't in Yanan at that time, were you?

Wang: Yes, I was. I'll say a few words about it here. I did not belong to the literary and art circles during the time when the Yanan Forum on literature and art was under way, but I was educated all the same. I was lashed at during the latter part of the campaign, by then I had been transferred to Shandong.

Wei: What kind of work were you engaged in at that time?

Wang: Underground work in the urban areas under the Japanese occupation. As a result I was reduced to a target of attack, regarded as "the Wang Shiwei of Shandong." My CPC membership was suspended; that was almost the same as being expelled from the party.

Exposed and Criticized for Writing Wall Newspapers in His Early Years

Wei: Did some of your articles come under criticism at that time?

Wang: I did write some articles for the wall bulletin. After the fall of the gang of four, Chen Yi, director of the Shanghai CPC Municipal Committee Propaganda Department wrote an article for GUANGMING RIBAO to expose my past, saying that I had written some offensive "small-character posters" in Shandong! Thus, I came under their attack time and again. Actually I had written for our wall bulletin. That was not the Cultural Revolution, and "small-character posters" did not exist till then. Chen Yi purposely changed the concept of the wall bulletin into "small-character posters," what obnoxious motivation!

Chen Yi was originally propaganda department director under the CPC Shandong sub-bureau. Most of the materials in his article did not hold water. He said I worked under his department, that was not true. Later, I was sent down to the countryside, working like ordinary people, with my payment in kind terminated. But still I went on working all the same in the spirit of self-reliance, practicing medicine. I was the first to link Western medicine with traditional Chinese medicine. I had been an apprentice at the Shanghai Xinya Pharmaceutical Factory since childhood, and learned my medicinal ABC there, which was rather useful in the rural areas, and I became quite a famous physician in the area. I wrote about those experiences in the form of memoirs, entitled "The Magical Physician," sold it to the literary journal HUACHENG, and it was eventually published. I was self-supporting at that time: I never expected the actual consequences of my joining the revolution, but I was not downcast. Chen Yi aimed to settle my old account, only that was part of my glorious history. Before Japan surrendered, they reversed the verdict of my case. When I left the countryside, the masses gave me a grand sendoff along the street. Some even cried and did not want to part with me.

Wei: Chinese overseas are not very clear about the conditions at home, and they would like to have a truthful picture of the mainland, including your views and some real examples. Could you say something more in this aspect?

Wang: A few words about the "spiritual civilization." The wording of "spiritual civilization" was unanimously adopted inside the party. I wrote an article as

soon as it was made public, believing that it was not a good omen, for the leftist forces would be in the ascendance. I'll show you something later on. I wrote a "letter of suggestion," in which I said, the greatest contribution of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was the shift of focus of the party work on economic construction, and that was a great historical turning point. A few years have passed since then, now what is in the new proposal? Namely, "grasping the two civilizations simultaneously." Inside the CPC, there are few qualified people pursuing economic construction; even if there are some, they do not enjoy very high social status. While those pursuing "spiritual civilization..."

It Won't Work To Grasp the Two Civilizations Simultaneously

Wei: Far too numerous?

Wang: Yes. Like schools of fish during the fishing season. Those people have nothing new in their knowledge, mostly brought up in the same old pattern of the Mao Zedong era. They had been unemployed too long, and were very unhappy about it. Now their chance was back with "grasping the two civilizations simultaneously." They were beginning to gain the upper hand on balance. Therefore, the proposal of "grasping the two civilizations simultaneously" means a comeback of the Mao Zedong era. Ideology, the concept of class struggle, and political and ideological work would be beefed up, and once again given first priority. Hu Qiaomu and Deng Liqun were most enthusiastic about those things. Therefore, the formulation of "grasping the two civilizations simultaneously" was not first proposed at the Sixth Plenary Session, but 2 years prior to it. When those two old fellows first proposed that formulation, I criticized them openly, pointing out in refutation: Isn't it sheer "dualism?" Isn't it sheer "eclecticism?" This runs counter to the direction of the resolution of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. How can they be grasped simultaneously? There is always an order in importance and urgency; economic construction should come first. Should "grasping the two civilizations simultaneously" remain on paper, it wouldn't be so much a problem, but according to China's reality, if "simultaneously" was suggested, those people would join in by taking advantage of the loophole. Therefore, ever since the CPC resolution on "grasping the two civilizations simultaneously" was adopted, one cold wave has emerged after another, until it culminated in the so-called "opposition to bourgeois liberalization" in January 1987. It had been wave after wave prior to this, gathering momentum in their preparations. They had started to collect materials regarding me, including audio tapes. All this was the actual practice in grasping spiritual pollution, and counter civilization at that.

They began to collect my materials in 1985, and printed them in a single book form. I can now tell your excellency the title of the book, since I am no longer a party member, and will no longer be involved in the charge of disclosing party secrets. "BULLETIN ON RECENT SPEECHES OF WANG RUOWANG," IN THAT BIG TYPE, FOR THE CONVENIENCE OF THE OLD MAN. THE BOOK COLLECTED SEVERAL POINTS CONCERNING MY CRITICISM AGAINST DENG XIAOPING, WHICH ROUSED DENG'S WRATH. SO THAT WAS IT.

In the discussion on whether I be expelled from the party, Hu Yaobang threw in a few words for me. He did it in the presence of Deng Xiaoping.

Hu Yaobang Advised Wang Ruowang To Restrain Himself

Wei: What did he say?

Wang: I could tell you about it, but please don't keep a record of it.

Wei: That happened in 1985?

Wang: Yes. Ever since Deng's remarks spread, everyone learned about them. For about 4 to 6 months, no newspapers would carry my articles, and no one would invite me to give speeches. I almost forgot to tell you, the effects of my speeches are much better than my written articles. There are a few characteristics in my speech delivery, I welcome any questions from the audience, and answer them on the spot whenever I can manage, while the responses are quick and never evasive. Second, the examples I cite are based on facts, and universally acknowledged as the talk of the town. Therefore, when Hu Qiaowu criticized me, he said: That Wang Ruowang was rather inflammatory in his speeches! His criticism against me was in fact a commendation. Would he try to stimulate his audience? Is he capable of this?

Wei: Has Hu Yaobang ever had a direct dialogue with you, expressed his hope to help you, or warned you in some way?

Wang: He had a talk with Liu Binyan, but not me. But indirectly, I learned about what he thought of me, namely, I had better be careful. Because the people in my unit did try to throw in a few good words for me, but what they said did not fall in line with what I thought, and created a wrong impression. I might as well tell you what their words were: out of their good intention, they said: Lao Wang is a loyal communist, and all for reform, but whenever he delivers a speech outside, he gets excited, especially when the audience applauds.

They were trying to make excuses for me, saying that there was always applause from the audience whenever I delivered a speech, but that I often said something wrong when I was excited by the applause. They were trying to make an excuse for me that way, which only served as an evidence that I was easily excited, and lacked self-control. I didn't defend myself for that, because it was said out of their good will. BUT THE CONSEQUENCE WAS, HU YAOBANG WAS UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT I HAD THAT SHORTCOMING, AND WAS EASILY EXCITED; THEREFORE, HE ADVISED ME NOT TO DELIVER SPEECHES, BUT TO CONCENTRATE ON WRITING. That was out of his good intention. Therefore, I didn't care to clarify this when there were some gossips around.

The CPC Has Lost All of Its Prestige by Fighting Against Leftism and Rightist Trends Alternatively

Wei: It is said, Hu Yaobang shielded both you and Ba Jin.

Wang: There is that fellow Wang Zhen in Beijing, who spoke ill of Ba Jin, in very cruel terms indeed. He said Ba Jin was an old hand in fighting communism, and had never stood on the side of the CPC.

Wei: Has the party group of the Shanghai Writers' Association treated you better?

Wang: Not too bad. They informed me about what I told you just now about Hu Yaobang's advice.

Wei: Didn't they want to attack you?

Wang: No.

Wei: Do you still hold any official titles at the Chinese Writers' Association?

Wang: I am still a member of the council. And that is all. I was deputy editor of SHANGHAI WENXUE [SHANGHAI LITERATURE]. But I have left the journal office because I am now retired.

Wei: Did the current expulsion from the party affect your post and job in any way?

Wang: No, the effects were insignificant. But I was running a Chinese Art School, providing 3 month courses in popular music, dancing, television performing art, and guitar. The school was registered, running 3 terms on an annual basis. The school has been in existence for more than 2 years now. Some movie actors belong to us. There was also a course of creative writing; but since the "opposition to bourgeois liberalization" began, people did not dare to show up there. Because no newspapers and journals dared to carry our advertisement, the consequence was, we had to suspend our operation in the first term of this year. Zhou Qun is principal of the school, and my wife is in the faculty. School finally opened in May, but I can't give lectures there, otherwise, the police will burst in.

Another point I want to make, namely, "oppose leftism whenever it occurs, and oppose a rightist trend whenever it exists; oppose leftism as well as rightist trends." To my mind, this is contradictory to the formulation "doing away with the struggle between the two lines" as proposed in "The Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping." Mao upheld the same formulation, but he ended in opposing rightist trends exclusively. He himself was ultra-leftist, so how could we expect him to do a clean job in opposing leftism; he turned back on the old track only a year or so after the 7,000-people meeting. A year after the Lu Shan Conference, Mao still wouldn't reverse the verdict of Peng Dehuai's case. We have opposed leftism in recent years, and the intellectuals saw hope in this; but then a retrogression took place, the label "bourgeois" has been attached to everything. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee said opposing leftism was fine, but actually they have been opposing rightist trends. This is because when they talked of

opposing leftism, they were rather sentimental about the leftists, but when opposing rightist trends, they pitched in with everything they had, even if they had to go bankrupt. Therefore, the slogan "opposing leftism whenever it occurs" is hypocritical. Deep down in their hearts, they still believe "leftism" is better than rightist trends in essence. Leftist influences are great; they have the propaganda apparatus in their hands.

The Party and State Should Not Go Back on Their Words

Wei: Didn't Deng Xiaoping talk of resistance coming chiefly from the left?

Wang: Our experiences are: Whenever they want to oppose rightist trends, the state and the people will suffer. Here there are feudal, Stalinist, communist International, or utterly complicated personal objectives; because every cadre has to take into account his own survival. The national policy is constantly changing, opposing leftism and the rightist trend simultaneously, is there any prestige of the party and state to speak of if they often "turn back on their words, while the people are at a loss?"

Wei: People overseas believe, as a communist country is to eventually overcome the capitalist, so it always considers the party as indispensable, and reform must come under the party leadership; a state can be done away with, but not the party.

Wang: The state belongs to the people. To maintain the prestige of the party, it is necessary to do everything genuinely for the people. World history proves that the more this truth is violated, the nearer a party will be to its extinction, or it will exist in name only.

Wei: Lately, it was said that Li Ruihuan of Tianjin said: "Anyone who clashes with the people will eventually fall."

Wang: The truthfulness and honesty of the party must be guaranteed by its policies; it must push forward the development of productive forces if it wants to stay alive.

Postscript: To preserve Wang Ruowang's mood and tone, the transcript of the interview was done by keeping the overwhelming majority of his original words, so that the readers may seem to listen to his voice and to see him in person. Mr Wang Ruowang did not read this article before its publication. This journal will bear responsibility for any mistakes in it.

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JIEFANGJUN BAO ON STRENGTHENING PARTY CONSTRUCTION

HK281427 Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 14 Jul 87 p 1

[Report by Zhang Chi [1728 1716]: "Lanzhou Military Region Party Committee Analyzes the Condition of Party Committees of 30 Regiments, Stresses That Effecting Inner-party Supervision Must Start From Enforcement of Systems"]

[Text] How can we strengthen the construction of the party committee during the new period by the enforcement of systems? During the second ten days of June, the party committee of the Lanzhou Military Region organized some of the secretaries of the Army, Divisional, and Regimental Party Committees to conduct a collective "investigation" regarding conditions of the 30 Regimental Party Committees in enforcing the systems.

Four months ago, the Military Region organized 7 working teams to investigate the conditions of the 30 Regimental Party Committees in enforcing the systems on a comprehensive scale. Analysis in terms of nature and quantity has been made on some basic problems. The grassroots organizations reported that many comrades were not very familiar with the traditional systems of the party. Of the members of the Standing Committees of the 30 Regimental Party Committees, 93 percent were admitted into the party during the "Great Cultural Revolution." They have not been adequately tempered by strict and organized life, and their understanding of the fundamental ideas of the party was rather shallow. According to the calculation of a working team, it was found that out of the 5 Regimental Party Committees, 80 percent of the members of the party committees and 20 percent of the secretaries and deputy secretaries did not quite understand the system of inner-party supervision. In addition, one party committee member attended Standing Committee meetings 48 times a year, but only went to office meetings five times. He discussed matters, such as the setting up of the basketball team, and the extending of regards to veteran comrades at the Standing Committee meetings.

The reporter found out from the forum that those questions under investigation have become or will become issues that many comrades study. Lu Baoyin, secretary of the party committee of Qinghai Provincial Military District said, "Many comrades understand the principles for collective leadership as far as reason is concerned. But why do these often become distorted in application? The key

lies in whether the 'one vote' of the secretary and deputy secretary is 'more than' or 'equals to one vote'." As for the question of how to eliminate the phenomenon in which "secretaries and deputy secretaries have the final say," the party committee of the Golog Military Sub-district of Qinghai Province illustrated it through a large number of examples. First, strengthening the consciousness of equality in the party, and ensuring that "everyone has one vote," and respecting this principle. Second, restricting people by democratic life so that they "will speak at the meeting and unite with one another after the meeting." Third, improving the quality of "squad leaders," and ensuring that they have a democratic work style and the art of concentration. Discipline inspection commissions at all levels have to be led by the party committees of the same level on the one hand and supervise them on the other. How can we smoothen their relationship and effectively put it into practice? Some regimental party committees adopt the method of placing themselves in a proper position and defining the focal point so that both the supervising and supervised authorities can act in accordance with the regulations, and the Commission for Discipline Inspection will not supervise "the wrong aspect" but all efforts are focused on the designated areas.

Li Xuanhua, the secretary of the party committee of the Lanzhou Military Region said in the forum that in the past, we generally regarded violation of the party's organizational and working systems as problems of ideological style and working method. We tended to conduct ideological education and did not regard these questions as violations of discipline in the party organizations. Thus, some party member cadres neglected the strictness of the party systems. Such conditions should not be allowed to occur any longer.

Through this collective "investigation," they adopted two specific and down-to-earth measures to strengthen the construction of the party committees at all levels. First, the party committees at all levels will regularly examine and report the condition of the party committees at the lower levels in enforcing the systems. Second, they will step up the study of the party systems by setting topics and demands with the stress on studying how to strengthen the construction of the party under the new conditions of reform and opening up.

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JIEFANGJUN BAO ON POLITICAL STRUCTURAL REFORM

HK270257 Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 1f Jul 87 p 3

[Article by Xu Hongwu [1776 7703 2976] and Li Jingde [2621 2417 1795]: "Developing Socialist Democracy Is the Basic Task of Political Structural Reform—Reading Comrade Deng Xiaoping's 'On the Reform of the System of Party and State Leadership'"—capitalized passages printed in boldface]

[Text] Comrade Deng Xiaoping delivered an important speech entitled "On the Reform of the System of Party and State Leadership" at the enlarged session of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee in August 1980. This speech explicitly pointed out and profoundly analyzed the malpractices in the system of leadership existing in China, and their historical and ideological causes, thus indicating the direction of the reform of the system of party and state leadership. The structural reform of leadership is the key to the entire political structural reform. Therefore, we should regard this speech as a programmatic document guiding political structural reform in China. Here we should like to deal with our experiences in study of the important significance of political structural reform in developing socialist democracy.

CREATING A HIGHER LEVEL OF DEMOCRACY WITH MORE SUBSTANCE THAN THAT OF CAPITALIST COUNTRIES IS THE BASIC TASK FOR POLITICAL STRUCTURAL REFORM

Comrade Deng Xiaoping proposed: "In the drive for socialist modernization, our objectives are: economically, to catch up with the developed capitalist countries; and politically, to create a higher level of democracy with more substance than that of capitalist countries." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" p 282, in the following, only the page number is given for quotations from this book.) Socialist modernization includes not only economic modernization but political democratization. The definition of this goal is of important theoretical as well as practical significance. Affected by erroneous "leftist" ideological trends in the past, for a long time, democracy was regarded as the means, not the end; democracy was not given its due, neither was the building of democracy given an important place on the agenda. That resulted in a great mistake. True, as political superstructure, democracy is a means to serve the economic base. But it is not enough to understand democracy merely in such a relationship; for socialist democracy has an independent meaning of its own. As an important

content of the advanced socialist system, socialist democracy has been the goal of people's long-term struggle and ardent pursuit. In this particular sense, democracy should be regarded as an objective. Only when we regard socialist democracy primarily as an objective, will our view be scientific and correct. It is primarily starting from the general objective of socialist modernization in proposing and understanding the matter that our party has stressed the development of socialist democracy since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee; this is beyond doubt a major development of our party in its understanding of socialism.

Socialist democracy has a broad and profound meaning. Socialism is essentially democratic; it is necessary for us to adhere to the democratic nature of our state and society. Socialist democracy is not confined to the people running the state, but embraces all socialist undertakings. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out in this article: "To practice people's democracy to the full, ensuring that through various effective forms, all the people truly enjoy the right to manage state affairs and, particularly, state organs at the grassroots level and to run enterprises and institutions, and that they truly enjoy all the other rights of citizens."(p 282) The extent of those enjoying democratic rights, and of the scope of their application are the conspicuous characteristics and merits of socialist democracy.

Socialist democracy should not be an abstract and empty principle, but a real thing that people can see and personally feel. The "democracy of a higher level and of more substance" as proposed by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in this speech has precisely grasped the essential differences between socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy. Essentially speaking, socialist democracy is at a higher level and has greater substance, compared with bourgeois democracy; this is beyond doubt, from a view of long-range development. However, democracy at the initial stage of socialism is not highly developed because it is affected by historical factors and restricted by practical economic and cultural conditions; therefore, we are required to do a lot of work in a down-to-earth way to make it continuously develop, and become complete and perfect. This is precisely the basic contents and requirements of the political structural reform under way at present. Through political structural reform, it is necessary to make complete and perfect the democratic system and life in all aspects, and to create more and better democratic channels and forms, so that the people may have genuine right to speak, decision-making power, and the right of supervision in running all socialist undertakings as well as the state, and that they may personally feel they are masters of the country in reality, not "outsiders" who have nothing to do with the major issues of the state. With the progress of the building of socialist modernization, and the development of the political structural reform in depth, the strong points of socialist democracy will inevitably make themselves felt to the full.

TO DEVELOP SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, IT IS IMPERATIVE TO ERADICATE THE PERNICIOUS EFFECTS OF FEUDALISM IN A BIG WAY

An important condition in developing socialist democracy is to eradicate feudal and bourgeois ideological influences, especially the pernicious influences of feudalism at present. Feudal autocracy is the direct opposite of the democratic system. China is a nation with a more than 2,000-year history of feudal autocracy, whose effects are deep rooted. Hence, long-term and persistent struggle against the pernicious influences of feudal autocracy is imperative. In analyzing the historical and ideological root causes of various

malpractices in China's existing system of leadership, Comrade Deng Xiaoping devoted much space to analyzing the effects and expressions of the pernicious influences of feudalism, and pointed out: "From old China we inherited a strong tradition of feudal autocracy and a weak tradition of democratic legality." He also pointed out: "Through 28 years of the new democratic revolution we succeeded in overthrowing once for all the reactionary feudal regime and the feudal system of landownership. However, we did not complete the task of eliminating the surviving feudal influences in the ideological and political fields, because we underestimated their importance and because we quickly proceeded to the socialist revolution. Now it is essential to state clearly that we must continue to labor at this task and that we must carry out a series of effective reforms in our institutions. Otherwise, our country and people will suffer further losses." (p 292, p 295) Although the feudal autocratic regime has long been overthrown, the ideological effects of feudal autocracy and the effects of some of its systems have continued to exist for a long time in a socialist society like ours; this is the major reason for the malpractices in China's existing political structure as well as the main obstruction to the political structural reform.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping cited various malpractices in the existing structure of leadership and the grave harm done by them in this speech. For example, the over-concentration of power in the party committees, the first secretaries of party committees in particular; thus party leadership more often than not turns into leadership by individuals. This "inevitably leads to bureaucratism and various mistakes, and inevitably impairs the democratic life, collective leadership, democratic centralism and division of labor with individual responsibility in the party and government organizations at all levels." (p 289) Patriarchal ways, the phenomenon of one person laying down the law, and the pursuit of the personality cult will "place individuals above the organization, which then becomes a tool in their hands. The relations between a superior and a subordinate will become one of "absolute obedience," and "loyalty in an unprincipled way," one of "personal dependence," and "the relationship between cat and mouse." (p 291) For another example, because of the incomplete and imperfect condition in our cadre system, the term of office in leading posts remains unsolved, in fact, the tenure for life in leading posts still exists. There are some cadres "who, regarding themselves as masters rather than servants of the people, use their positions to seek personal privileges. This practice has aroused strong mass resentment and tarnished the party's prestige. Unless it is firmly corrected, it is bound to corrupt our cadres." (p 292) The rise of such phenomena is basically due to the pernicious influences of feudalism, the evil consequences of the remnants of feudal autocracy in particular. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out, unless such effects of feudal autocracy are eradicated with great efforts, "the practice of inner-party democracy in particular and of socialist democracy in general is out of the question," (p 291) neither will the political structural reform be successful.

Of course, the struggles in the ideological field are rather complicated; it is necessary to adopt a scientific attitude in dealing with the eradication of the pernicious influences of feudalism. Attention should be paid to drawing a demarcation line between socialism and feudalism; by no means should we allow pursuit of feudalism under the banner of opposition to bourgeois

ideas, nor should we allow opposition to socialism under the pretext of opposing feudalism. At the same time, attention should be paid to drawing a demarcation line between the democratic essence and the feudal dross in our cultural heritage; we should not allow the negation of the fine national tradition of China under the pretext of opposing feudalism, nor should we allow the peddling of feudalism under the pretext of bringing forward our fine national tradition. While focusing on opposing feudal ideological influences, we should not neglect opposition to bourgeois ideological influences. In sum, it is necessary to make specific analysis, to adopt a truth-seeking attitude, and to oppose whatever erroneous ideological influences exist. We should refrain from copying things mechanically in disregard of specific conditions and giving strained interpretations and drawing farfetched analogies.

TO DEVELOP SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, IT IS NECESSARY TO START FROM THE BUILDING OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND WORK SYSTEMS

In order to carry out political structural reform and to develop socialist democracy, it is necessary to raise the ideological consciousness of the cadres and masses, and to improve the cultivation of party spirit and the ideological and cultural qualities of the party members and cadres on the one hand; on the other, it is also necessary to strengthen the building of institutions, and to continuously complete and perfect the organizational and work systems of various descriptions. Comparatively speaking, the results of the political structural reform should be embodied more in the latter area.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "It is true that the errors we made in the past were partly attributable to the way of thinking and style of work of some leaders. But they were even more attributable to the problems in our organizational and working systems. If these systems are sound, they can place restraints on the actions of bad people; if they are unsound, they may hamper the efforts of good people or indeed, in certain cases, may push them in the wrong direction. Even so great a man as Comrade Mao Zedong was influenced to serious degree by certain unsound systems and institutions, which resulted in grave misfortunes for the party, the state and himself." (p 293) This demonstration is a profound summing up of the historical experiences of our party and state. It is true that comparing systems with ideology, the former is all the more important. Comrade Mao Zedong said, such a matter as Stalin gravely sabotaging the socialist legal system is not likely to take place in such Western countries as the United Kingdom, France, and the United States. Coups are still a frequent phenomenon in many Latin American and African countries; this is closely related to the incomplete and imperfect conditions of the democratic system in those countries. Coups are not only impossible but unthinkable in countries in which the democratic system is relatively complete and perfect. In our political structural reform, we must pay great attention to building a democratic system. Only by proceeding from the building of systems and institutions, will it be possible "to ensure institutionally the practice of democracy in political life, in economic management and in all other aspects of social activity," (p 296) to adhere to the socialist nature of our state, and to guarantee the long-term stability

and peace, prosperity and development of our society. Strengthening the building of the democratic system is also the basic way to overcome bureaucratism. We always proceeded from strengthening ideological education in the past in opposing bureaucratism. There is some truth in this, but fundamentally speaking, the key to overcoming bureaucratism lies in making complete and perfect the systems and institutions in every aspect. The basic socialist system cannot give rise to bureaucratism, but the incomplete and imperfect conditions in some specific systems and institutions of socialism and the pernicious influences of feudalism are important causes for the rise of bureaucratism. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: The phenomenon of bureaucratism in our society "is closely connected with our highly centralized management in the economic, [word indistinct], cultural and social fields. Our leading organs at various levels have taken charge of many matters which they should not and cannot handle, or cannot handle efficiently.... This can be said to be one of the main causes of the bureaucratism peculiar to us today." Another cause of our bureaucratism is that "for a long time we have had no strict administrative rules and regulations and no system of personal responsibility from top to bottom in the leading bodies of our party and government organizations and of our enterprises and institutions. We also lack strict and explicit terms of reference for each organization and post so that there are no rules to go by and most people are often unable to handle independently and responsibly the matters, big or small, which they should handle. They can only keep busy all day long making reports to higher levels, seeking instructions from them, writing comments on documents and passing them around." (p 288) The incomplete and imperfect conditions in the cadre system, the lack of normal measures in the employment, commanding and punishment, retirement, resignation, and selection of cadres will inevitably result in overstaffed organs, which in turn help bureaucratism grow. In order to effectively overcome bureaucratism, it is necessary to reform and to complete and perfect the system of party and state leadership, including: explicitly dividing the duties and power between party organizations and government organizations, to implement the separation of the party from the government, and to basically solve the over-concentration of power; conducting readjustment and reform of state organs, to implement streamlining the administration and to raise work efficiency based on the requirements of socialist modernization and the political structural reform; conducting reform and making complete and perfect the supervisory system of the party and that of the people' and making complete and perfect the socialist legal system. Lenin said, the democratic system is linked with the bureaucratic system in the bourgeois parliamentary system; while the proletarian democratic system is linked with eradicating the bureaucratic system (please refer to "Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 3, p 266 and p 273). Only by strengthening the building of the democratic system and implementing and developing the democratic management and supervision of state and social affairs, will it be possible to effectively overcome bureaucratism and to complete and perfect the socialist political structure.

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CIRCULAR URGES DISCIPLINE IN ORGANIZATIONS

OW222106 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0646 GMT 22 Jul 87

[Text] Beijing, 22 Jul (XINHUA)--The Central Discipline Inspection Commission recently issued a circular on "the need for party cadres to strictly observe discipline in handling personnel matters of organizations." It calls for the personnel department of an organization to deal harshly with the party concerned in cases involving violations of principles and discipline when handling personnel matters. It also calls for assessing the responsibility of the official in charge of the party organization concerned, depending on how serious a case is.

The circular notes: Recently, the Shantou City Party Committee and government of Guangdong Province sternly handled a case in which Zhan Zhenkun, former deputy head of the Shantou City Public Security Bureau and chief of the bureau's political affairs section, had sought personal gain by abusing his power in managing the personnel matters of his organization. Zhan Zhenkun was expelled from the party and relieved of his post. Other people involved were also given due punishment. The Guangdong Provincial Discipline Inspection Commission transmitted the Shantou City party committee's circular on this matter to various parts of the province.

The Central Discipline Inspection Commission's circular states: Zhan Zhenkun abused his authority to seek personal gain in violation of the law and discipline and employed sordid means in going so. He personally prepared a report to facilitate the transfer to Shantou City of the registered household of his eldest nephew, who was a teacher at a rural private school. He tried to use his good offices with the head of the Huilai County Public Security Bureau and a deputy head of the city office in charge of discharged and retired servicemen, applying pressure on them both explicitly and implicitly. When the city public security bureau's household registration section refused to handle the case for fear of violating relevant provisions, Zhan cried out: "Who says it cannot be handled!" He then forced the section to attend to the transfer procedures. Soon after the transfer was registered, Zhan, without authorization, used the name of the city public security bureau's political affairs section to convert the agricultural household register of his nephew's six-member family to a non-agricultural household register to pave the way for their moving into the city proper. He also used his influence with the

departments concerned to get a job for his nephew at the local police station. His nephew became a state cadre in less than 6 months and was subsequently promoted to deputy political instructor of the station. Zhan Zhenkun's brother-in-law was a farmer. Zhan first lied about his brother-in-law, saying he was a "non-agricultural householder," a "son of a veteran cadre," and a "discharged serviceman who was drafted into the military in January 1966." Zhan then lobbied those concerned to change the agricultural household register of his brother-in-law and family to a non-agricultural register and to get a job for his brother-in-law at the local police station. Afterward, he personally prepared false biographical information and files for his brother-in-law. Consequently, his brother-in-law became a state cadre and secured, through such fraudulent means, a salary commensurate with 19 years of service and grade 11 of the people's police force. Zhan Zhenkun abused the power in his hands and bartered away his principles. In return for job placements for his relatives, he converted the agricultural household register of the younger brother of a deputy secretary of the Dahao District party committee of Shantou City to a non-agricultural household register to help that individual move to Shantou City and get a job at a public security department. A deputy head of the city office in charge of discharged and retired servicemen gave written approval for the transfer of the registered household of Zhan's nephew to the city proper and recommended him for employment at a local police station in Dahao District. Reciprocating this move, Zhan strongly recommended promotion for this deputy head's son who was working at the city public security bureau.

The circular adds: The central authorities have repeatedly urged Communist Party members to perform their official duties honestly. In particular, leading cadres of the party are urged to strictly observe discipline in handling the personnel affairs of their organizations and not to abuse their power to seek personal gain. It should be noted that although there are not many people like Zhan Zhenkun who abuse their power to seek personal gain, the seriousness and the harmful effects of this unhealthy tendency in the party should not be underestimated. Some people disregard the party's cadre policy by appointing cadres without following the prescribed norms. They allow themselves to be swayed by personal feelings in hiring personnel and even create their own camps by practicing nepotism. Some people exploit one another by abusing their respective powers, violate pertinent policies, and illegally convert the agricultural household registers of their children, relatives, or friends to non-agricultural household registers and then use illegitimate means to facilitate job recruitment, promotion, or transfer for them. Some flout the relevant state policies by trying every possible means, including the use of personal connections and the practice of backdoorism, to secure opportunities to go abroad and to enroll their children, relatives, or friends in schools. The circular emphatically notes: These actions that are in violation of the party spirit and principles are eroding the body of the party, impairing the image of the party, affecting the relations between the party and the people, undermining the initiative of the cadres and the masses in socialist construction, and threatening the party's undertakings. In addition, they have disrupted the implementation of the personnel system of party and state organizations by allowing individuals with no abilities or moral principles whatsoever, or even individuals of lowly character and with dishonest work styles, to make their way into the ranks of cadres and workers and to occupy important positions. This has seriously undercut the building of cadre and worker ranks. Accordingly,

such actions cannot be allowed to go unchecked and to grow rampant. They should be curbed and corrected resolutely.

The circular urges:

1. Party organizations at all levels must educate Communist Party members on the party's fundamental goals and on the need to oppose moves to seek personal gain through abuse of power. Basically, the irregularities in the personnel affairs of organizations reflect the thinking of some party cadres with a world outlook based on bourgeois egoism under new historical conditions. This is incompatible with the Communist Party members' lofty communist ideal of wholeheartedly serving the people. It is necessary to educate the broad masses of party cadres, especially the leading cadres, to foster the communist outlook on life, conscientiously resist the contamination of harmful feudal influences and the erosion of decadent bourgeois ideas, and become a selfless public functionary.
2. Party organizations at all levels and all the party cadres must strictly observe discipline in handling the personnel matters of organizations. The discipline established by the party and state for governing the handling of organizational personnel affairs is, like other kinds of discipline, a guarantee for the implementation of the party's line. All party organizations and cadres must take the lead in observing this discipline and practice what they preach. Cases involving the violation of party discipline and the seeking of personal gain through abuse of power in organizational personnel matters must be resolutely corrected and reviewed. The chief culprits and his accomplices must be given party disciplinary action as warranted by the nature of their mistakes. Serious cases could result in expelling those involved from the party. Party members who obstruct the moves to correct and review such cases should be given similar party disciplinary action if they refuse to mend their ways despite criticism and education.
3. The personnel departments of organizations at all levels must establish and improve an organizational personnel management system in light of the problems in the work of their departments and localities. They should plug the leaks in the system and take effective measures to ensure the implementation of the system. Cadres of such departments should maintain their principles, act honestly, handle matters in strict accordance with the personnel management system, and avoid bartering away the party's principles and practicing favoritism.

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NIE RONGZHEN GREETS PLA HEROES MEETING IN BEIJING

OW281120 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0715 GMT 27 Jul 87

[Text] Beijing, 27 Jul (XINHUA)—Nie Rongzhen, vice chairman of the Central Military Commission, sent a message of greetings on 25 July to the conference of representatives of Chinese PLA heroes and models. The message reads in full as follows:

Dear Comrades: On the eve of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the great Chinese People's Liberation Army, please accept my high respect for and festive greetings to you and, through you, to all the commanders and fighters in the whole Army.

Many Army heroes will gather together at the grand meeting, while "there are people who take over the relay baton for the Long March." Heroes and model soldiers, both new or old, cheerfully will gather in the hall to review our Army's glorious history, exchange their experience, and further bring into full play the spirit of patriotism and revolutionary heroism. All this will create a profound influence in inspiring the fighting will of all the commanders and fighters in the whole Army, strengthening our Army building, and helping the people of all nationalities enhance their concept of national defense. As an old fighter, I am happy to see the holding of this meeting.

Comrades, you are a select group of the whole Army, representing the glory and pride of the People's Liberation Army. It is hoped that you will remain humble and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness, unite with the masses, work harder than ever before, carry forward the fine traditions of our party and our Army, forever become good daughters and sons of the party and the people, and make new and even greater contributions to building a modern, regular revolutionary army; defending and building the motherland; and safeguarding world peace.

Nie Rongzhen 25 July 1987

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LOCAL GOVERNMENTS RESETTLE 450,000 PLA VETERANS

0W281344 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0553 GMT 28 Jul 87

[By correspondents Liu Guanxue and Lu Wenqi]

[Text] Beijing, 28 Jul (XINHUA)--In 1985, our government announced the major strategic policy decision on "Streamlining the organization of the PLA and reducing its strength by 1 million." Thanks to the joint efforts made by Army organizations and local governments at all levels, some 450,000 PLA cadres transferred to civilian jobs, accompanied by some 330,000 dependents, have been properly placed in China. During the restructuring period, the task of placing a large number of PLA cadres transferred to civilian jobs has been basically completed, effectively promoting PLA's modernization.

In the last few years, local governments have seriously implemented the guidelines of the CPC Central Committee circular on supporting the streamlining of the PLA and regarded the placement of PLA cadres transferred to civilian jobs as an important political task, as well as an action to respect and cherish the armymen and support the streamlining of the PLA. After receiving the annual distribution plan, the party committees and governments of many provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities specially held Standing Committee meetings or other meetings to arrange the placement work. Shandong, Sichuan, Henan, Hebei, Jiangsu, Liaoning, and Guangdong are provinces that have received a large number of PLA cadres transferred to civilian jobs. These provinces have emphatically urged all localities to overcome difficulties and actively complete the placement work. Most of the PLA cadres transferred to civilian jobs have joined and strengthened local public security, judicial, industrial and commercial administration, banking, insurance, and taxation departments. In 1986, some 1,600 Army cadres transferred to civilian jobs voluntarily took jobs in outlying and difficult regions. The departments concerned have given preferential treatment to some 20,000 PLA cadres transferred to civilian jobs with regard to their placement. Those are cadres who won second class or higher merit citations, were disabled in action, worked for a long time in border defense areas or coastal islands, or held flying jobs or submarine jobs for a long time.

While doing a good placement work, all localities also pay attention to giving civilian job training to the transferred PLA cadres so that they will soon meet the needs of the four modernizations. In 1985 and 1986, some 260,000 PLA cadres transferred to civilian jobs received such training, and they

accounted for more than 93 percent of those who should be trained. Such localities as Sichuan, Shanghai, Anhui, and Guillin have integrated "training, evaluation and job assignment" and tried their best to make reasonable and proper placement. At present, more than 40 training centers have been set up by various prefectures, cities, and higher level authorities.

All localities have actively taken measures to solve housing problems for the PLA cadres transferred to civilian jobs. In addition to state subsidies for housing construction, provincial, autonomous regional, and municipal governments have also appropriated special housing construction funds for the transferred PLA cadres. Such local funding amounted to more than 400 million yuan in the last 3 years. Local labor and personnel departments have done a great deal of work for the dependents accompanying the transferred PLA cadres, and timely arranged more than 100,000 jobs for those dependents who need jobs.

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PLA PAPER ON REFORM, SOCIALIST SUPERIORITY

HK231141 Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 7 Jul 87 p 3

[Article by Jiang Hanbin [1203 3352 2430]: "Reform Is the Only Way To Exploit the Superiority of Socialism"--capitalized passages printed in boldface]

[Text] There is an inevitable link between reform and exploiting the superiority of the socialist system. Getting a clear understanding of this link is a matter of primary importance for further developing and deepening the reform.

THE HIGH LEVEL OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES IS A FUNDAMENTAL SYMBOL DEMONSTRATING THE SUPERIORITY OF SOCIALISM

The superiority of socialism, which we often talk about, is mainly that: After the realization of public ownership, laboring people have become the masters of means of production; with the implementation of the principle of "to each according to his work," the exploitation of man by man has been abolished; people have become the masters of their own affairs, and are enjoying greater and more extensive democracy than those living under exploitative systems; ideology under the guidance of Marxism has ensured that the entire society has a healthy, civilized, and varied spiritual life; social productive forces are also rapidly developing at a speed incomparable with the old society to satisfy the ever-increasing material demands of the people.

There is no doubt that the superiority of socialism has manifested itself in many aspects. However, what is the basic symbol demonstrating its superiority? It ought to be the high level of the development of social productive forces. This is because: 1) It is true that the purpose of the proletariat in carrying out revolution is to free itself from exploitation economically, to win democracy politically, and to strive for freedom spiritually. However, the fundamental purpose is to develop productive forces to ensure that the ever-increasing material needs of all members of the society are satisfied. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out: "Marxism pays its closest attention to developing productive forces. We talk about communism. What does communism mean? It means from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs. This calls for an extensive development of the social productive

forces, and an abundance of social material wealth. Therefore, the basic task at the socialist stage is to develop productive forces. The development of the socialist productive forces is higher and faster than capitalist productive forces. This demonstrates the superiority of socialism." If we depart from this basic purpose of developing productive forces, people will not have enough food to eat, and enough clothes to wear. They will have insufficient housing and encounter great difficulties in material life. Is socialism still attractive then? "Poverty is not socialism." This is a profound idea repeatedly stressed by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. It indicates where the basic superiority of socialism lies. 2) Basically speaking, whether the superiority of socialism can be fully demonstrated relies on the development of productive forces. Only by extensively developing productive forces and increasing the material wealth of society can there be a basis for fully exploiting the superiority of socialism in other aspects: Socialist public ownership will be based on socialized mass production, and truly consolidated and developed; the principle of distribution according to work will be truly implemented, and the bad influence of certain ration systems and the trends of equalitarianism, which affect the implementation of the principle of distribution according to work because of the lack of materials, will be eliminated; there will be a solid material foundation for the rapid development of education, science and culture; the cultural quality of the entire nation will be enhanced so that people will be able to broadly participate in political activities, truly enjoy the rights of being the masters of their own affairs, and have a colorful spiritual life. None of this can be realized on the basis of poverty.

ONLY THROUGH REFORM CAN WE EXPLOIT THE SUPERIORITY OF SOCIALISM

Through drastic class struggle, the proletariat solved the basic contradictions of the old society, and established a new economic and political system. However, the revolution has only initially demonstrated the superiority of socialism. In a country, which is economically and culturally backward, the revolution has created, to a great extent, basic conditions for realizing the superiority of socialism. However, to fully exploit the superiority of socialism, we should continuously improve reform and develop the socialist economic and political system established by the revolution. During the initial period of socialist practice in China, due to lack of experience, we mechanically copied the patterns of foreign countries. We misunderstood certain inferences of Marx and Lenin, and regarded them as dogmas. Therefore, we treated socialism in an ossified way. In the economic system, political system, and other fields, there were many defects which impeded the development of productive forces. For example, we rejected commodity economy, and unilaterally stressed the larger size and having a higher degree of public ownership, neglected democratic building, and so on. Only through an all-round and profound reform can we eliminate these defects, and restore the vitality and vigor of socialism. Also, due to the fact that the forerunner of the socialist society was a class society which lasted several thousand years, the concepts of feudal hierarchy, patriarchy, bureaucratism, the capitalist hired hand mentality, and so on

continue to exist in people's minds, and are reflected in their actions, or are even reflected in certain links of the new social system. There is no doubt that these old vestiges are also important factors impeding the development of productive forces. Only through reform can we gradually overcome them.

At present, we are faced with the urgent task of reform. Domestically, due to the fact that our economic and cultural development in history was very backward in addition to several great setbacks and mistakes we suffered in socialist construction, basic social contradictions in our country were particularly complicated. The contradictions between certain links in production relations and superstructure, and further development of productive forces have become more conspicuous. Many defects in our economic and political system should be overcome through reform. Internationally speaking, the waves of worldwide technical revolution are in the ascendant. This has provided us with a rare opportunity for importing foreign advanced technology to speed up technical reform in our country, for learning from developed countries' modern management methods to accelerate the development of our scientific and cultural undertakings. Only through speeding up reform can we conform with the trends of the world's technical revolution, and accelerate the process of four modernizations in our country. Without reform, the strategic objectives of economic and cultural development in our country will come to nothing. At present, reform has become an irreversible international trend. All socialist countries in the world are carrying out reform in varying degrees. Reform as a continuation of the revolution, and as the only way to fully exploit socialist superiority has been understood and supported by more and more people. Without reform, it is impossible for social productive forces to develop rapidly. Without reform, socialism will no longer be attractive, and we will even lose the achievements of the proletarian revolution. In this sense, each loyal revolutionary should be an active reformist.

GIVING FULL PLAY TO THE SUPERIORITY OF SOCIALISM IS A LONG PROCESS WHICH ACCOMPANIES THE PROFOUND DEVELOPMENT OF REFORM

Just like revolution, reform is also a process. In a certain sense, reform is a process which is more complicated than revolution. First, a process is necessary to understand and consider reform. Although Engels pointed out a long time ago that socialist society was a constantly changing society in which reform was carried out from time to time, in socialist practice, people believed for a long time that socialism was ossified. It was only when contradictions were fully exposed, and those ossified ideas and systems suffered setbacks in practice that various socialist countries began to conduct reform one after another. Such a process of change lasted more than 10 years. Furthermore, the practice of reform is also a process. Reform is a complicated and systematic social project. Scientific device, overall planning, and well-conceived arrangements are needed. We should consider the capacity of various quarters in the society, and the balance of interests of different social groups. Reform should be carried out and deepened in stages. In the meantime, we should be ready at all times to correct those unavoidable mistakes made due to

the limitation of our understanding, to sum up experiences and readjust our policies. In a word, this is a process full of contradictions, and these contradictions cannot be solved overnight. In addition, while carrying out reform, we will encounter two kinds of erroneous ideological interference from the "left" and the right. The "leftist" ossified ideas bred by the ossified system over the past decades has been deeply rooted. In the process of reform, they will assert themselves again and again. Under the new conditions of reform and opening up, the rightist ideological trends are also bound to manifest themselves.

Therefore, the process of reform is a process of constantly getting rid of the interference of the two kinds of ideological trends from both the right and the "left."

Fully exploiting the superiority of socialism is also a process which conforms with the process of reform. The superiority of socialism can only be gradually manifested with the deepening of reform. At present, reform has promoted the work of exploiting the superiority of socialism. The further deepening of reform will fully show the superiority of socialism to the people. However, due to the fact that giving full play to the superiority of socialism is a fairly long process which goes hand in hand with the development and deepening of reform, we must foster an idea of a protracted hard struggle, pay attention to overcoming the ideological trends of "quick victory" and "pessimism," and unswervingly and firmly promote reform, so that the superiority of socialism can be increasingly manifested step by step. While formulating a blueprint for economic and political structural reform, our party proposes a general time-table for gradually manifesting the superiority of socialism, which conforms with the blueprint. In other words, by the end of this century our national per capita income will be quadrupled, and reach a comfortably well-off level. After another 30 to 50 years of development, we will approach the level of the world's developed countries. In the meantime, we will build a high level of socialist democracy, and socialist spiritual civilization. Then, the superiority of socialism will be fully manifested.

At present, we should firmly grasp the two basic points of the line adopted by the 3d Plenary Session, uphold the four cardinal principles, and speed up reform. We should carry forward the effective reform, which we have started, through to the end, so that the superiority of socialism will shine with dazzling splendor over the vast land of China.

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RENMIN RIBAO ON NEI MONGGOL ANNIVERSARY

HK310530 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jul 87 p 5

[Article by Ulanhu [3527 5695 1133]: "Advance Triumphant Along the Road To Creating a New History--Celebrating the 40th Anniversary of the Founding of the Nei Monggol Autonomous Region"]

[Text] At a time when we are advancing triumphantly along the road to socialist modernization, we have ushered in the 40th anniversary of the founding of Nei Monggol Autonomous Region. On this jubilant occasion, we extend festive greetings to the people of various nationalities in Nei Monggol. We offer them warm congratulations on the great achievements scored in various fields in Nei Monggol in the past 40 years.

Forty years ago, like the people all over the country, the people of various nationalities in Nei Monggol under the oppression and exploitation of the "three big mountains" eked out a living and struggled on the line of life or death. Under the brilliant leadership of the CPC and Chairman Mao, the Mongolian people and people of various nationalities in Nei Monggol region united as one. After hard and remarkable struggle, they eventually ushered in the dawn of victory on the eve of our revolution's crowning with a national victory, and established the autonomous government of Nei Monggol on 1 May 1947. The history of Nei Monggol has since entered a new era. People of all nationalities in Nei Monggol have become masters of society and started a new life. In a message of greetings to people of various nationalities in Nei Monggol, Chairman Mao and Commander Zhu said: "Nei Monggol compatriots, who have had their full share of suffering ... are beginning to make new history marked with freedom and a bright future. We believe that Mongolians will act as one with Hans and people of other nationalities of the country in a struggle for the elimination of nationalities oppression and feudal oppression and the building of a new Nei Monggol and a new China." For 40 years, under the leadership of the CPC, the people of Nei Monggol have continuously advanced from victory to victory in making new history and building a new Nei Monggol.

Our country is a unified one of many nationalities and a long history. How to resolve the nationalities problem has a direct bearing on the destiny of a unified motherland and the Chinese nation. The CPC viewed the solution of the nationalities problem in the country as part of China's whole revolution.

After a long period of exploration in revolutionary struggle, such a fundamental policy as regional autonomy of minority nationalities which helps resolve our nationalities problem was creatively put forward. This fundamental policy, which helps resolve our nationalities problem, is a product of Marxism-Leninism being combined with China's practice. It has provided a correct answer to our nationalities problem. Meanwhile, it has enriched and developed Marxist theory on nationalities. Nei Monggol Autonomous Region was our country's first region at the provincial level to introduce regional national autonomy. It was the first to use facts to declare the victory of our party's fundamental policy for resolving the nationalities problem in the country. For 40 years, it has chalked up one song of triumph after another in implementing the party's policy of regional national autonomy, providing experiences and setting an example in resolving our nationalities problem and in the revolution and construction effort of the areas of the whole country that practice regional national autonomy.

Nei Monggol Autonomous Region was born in the upsurge of the Chinese revolution. The establishment of the regime of the people of Nei Monggol Autonomous Region coincided with the historical moment when the Chinese people's war of liberation was to switch from strategic defense to strategic attack. At that time, the region of Nei Monggol had still not been completely liberated. The primary task after the establishment of the autonomous government was to liberate the whole of Nei Monggol under the leadership of the CPC and under the unified command of the Chinese PLA and with the effective support of the liberated areas of northeast China and north China. Nei Monggol Autonomous Region of the current size has gradually shaped up with the triumphant development of the national revolution under the correct leadership of the CPC and the central government. The realization of such unified regional national autonomy as now practiced in Nei Monggol, putting an end to the history of long separation of nationalities in Nei Monggol, has created conditions for the thriving growth and development of political, economic, cultural, and other socialist undertakings of the region of Nei Monggol and the Mongolians there.

The establishment of the people's regime of the autonomous region and the liberation of the whole area represented a mark of the people of all nationalities in Nei Monggol having stood up politically, become masters of society, and realized national equality. But a change in the economic and cultural backwardness left over from history and resolution of the problem of actual equality between nationalities could not be brought about overnight. To basically resolve this matter, the people of Nei Monggol, under the leadership of the party, exerted persistent efforts. First, they carried out a democratic reform, eliminated feudal privileges and systems, and accomplished the task of democratic revolution. They further continued socialist transformation, completing the task of socialist revolution. This enabled people of various nationalities in different stages of development to step on the socialist road. The victory of the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution greatly stimulated the enthusiasm of people of all nationalities in the region and released social productivity. With our country entering the period of planned socialist construction, Nei Monggol Autonomous Region

also began socialist construction on a large scale, tackling poverty and backwardness and pressing on with an effort to realize actual equality between nationalities. Social reality and Marxism tell us the relationship between poverty and backwardness. To change this state, the most important thing is to develop economy and science and culture and raise social productivity. In the past 40 years, people of various nationalities in Nei Monggol have made tremendous efforts in this respect, demonstrating infinite wisdom and strength. Mongolians are worthy of being called a heroic nationality. The people of Nei Monggol deserve the reputation of an industrious, courageous, intelligent, and highly creative people.

In 40 years of struggle, and especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the outlook of Nei Monggol Autonomous Region has undergone a great historical change. A new Nei Monggol with the beginnings of a buoyant economy, great improvement in the people's material and cultural life, and the sign of life and vitality in its cities and rural and pastoral areas has emerged on the northern border of the motherland. Judging from the economic development of the region as a whole, Nei Monggol has become one of our country's important steel, coal, timber, and stock-breeding bases. In the autonomous region, there has formed an integrated social economy with cities as its center and with towns, townships, and rural and pastoral areas closely linked. Industry has brought into being a relatively complete industrial and communications system with large and medium-sized modern enterprises as its backbone--a system covering raw materials, energy, metallurgy, machine building, chemicals, woolen and textile industries, the processing of agricultural and animal breeding-related products and foods, and also railroad and highway networks and postal and telecommunications networks. There has been relatively great progress in the fundamental construction effort in agriculture and animal breeding. The industrial mix has been subjected to a relatively rational readjustment. Results have been achieved in the rural reform. Animal breeding is undergoing a reform. The enthusiasm of peasants and herdsmen has been called into play. A number of skilled production workers and specialized households of various kinds have emerged. The whole production effort in agricultural and animal breeding fields is transforming in the direction of being put on a specialized, scientific, and commercialized basis. Scientific research and cultural, educational, and health undertakings have shown very rapid development. The whole region now boasts more than 140,000 scientific and technical personnel in various fields, 19 institutes of higher learning, a given basis for secondary school education and vocational education, and a rate of universal primary school education reaching more than 90 percent. The pace of development of nationality education has surpassed the average regional level. There have been initially set up networks of libraries, archives, and cultural bureaus at the three levels--the autonomous region, leagues and cities, banners and counties. Great improvement has been made in sanitation and medical conditions. There has been a fundamental turn for the better in the level of the people's health. Now, party organizations and governments at various levels in Nei Monggol are leading 20 million people of all nationalities throughout the region in upholding the four cardinal principles, implementing the general guideline of reform and opening up, and carrying out on a firm basis the guideline calling for the autonomous region to concentrate economic development on forestry and animal breeding in introducing a diversified economy. This is being done in a struggle for the building of a modern socialist Nei Monggol!

In the period of democratic revolution, socialist revolution, and socialist construction of the past 40 years, Nei Monggol Autonomous Region has now again entered a new historical period of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. In various periods of revolution and construction, a wealth of experiences has accumulated. But in my opinion, experiences chiefly in the following four respects may be considered fundamental ones:

1. We must uphold party leadership. The revolution and construction effort in the Nei Monggol region has all along been made under the firm leadership of the CPC. It was the party that saved the Mongolians and people of various nationalities in the region of Nei Monggol from an abyss of misery. It was under the leadership of the party that the Nei Monggol Autonomous Region was founded. It was the party that led us in scoring one victory after another in the struggle to build a new socialist Nei Monggol. Without the Communist Party, there would not be a new China. Without the Communist Party, there would not be a thriving Nei Monggol Autonomous Region of today. This is an unqualified truth borne out by history. As early as in the period of mass revolution, Comrade Li Dazhao recruited party members from among the Mongolian youths studying in schools for Mongolians and Tibetans, with a party organization set up. During the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, the party Central Committee also sent Wang Ruofei and other comrades to work in the Nei Monggol region. Even in an inhospitable environment of white terror, the party had all along been leading the revolutionary struggle in the Nei Monggol region. During the anti-Japanese war and the War of Liberation, the party's strength was further enhanced. Precisely because a stout party organization in the Nei Monggol region resolutely carried out the party's correct line and strategies and tactics, the revolutionary struggle in the Nei Monggol region showed continuous development until final victory was achieved. In the 1920's and 1930's, some pacesetters sought the liberation of the Mongolian people with the establishment of a Nei Monggol National Revolutionary Party (later called Nei Monggol People's Revolutionary Party). Many people with lofty ideas died for the cause. But nothing resulted, and it finally failed. In the mid-1940's, or after victory in the anti-Japanese war, when preparations were being made for the founding of Nei Monggol Autonomous Region, again some people imbued with the idea of national democratic revolution attempted to rebuild the Nei Monggol People's Revolutionary Party to assume the weighty mission of leading the Nei Monggol revolution. On this important issue bearing on the destiny of Nei Monggol, a heated debate unfolded at the "3 April Conference." Thanks to patient and hard work on the part of the comrades of our party, through reviewing the historical lesson of the failure of the Nei Monggol National Revolutionary Party and through an analysis of the current state of revolution, most of the comrades, especially young people, showed heightened awareness and realized that only the Communist Party could save China and that only under the leadership of the CPC could Nei Monggol's revolution and subsequent construction be successful. Thus, they resolutely gave up the idea of rebuilding the Nei Monggol People's Revolutionary Party and dissolved their organization themselves. A number of comrades with high consciousness successively joined the CPC. After this debate, in the minds of various social strata in Nei Monggol and people of all nationalities, the fundamental concept of the need to uphold the leadership of the CPC at any time was more clearly and firmly fostered. Thereafter, the leadership of the party in the Nei Monggol region was strengthened. The movement for unification and autonomy throughout the

region and spectacular revolutionary mass struggles in various parts of Nei Monggol were all placed under the leadership of the CPC. The army in the region of Nei Monggol followed the system of the Liberation Army and put itself under the command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The strengthening of the leadership of the party gave an effective boost to the development of the revolution in Nei Monggol. This was a fundamental guarantee for the rapid expansion of the liberated area of Nei Monggol, the establishment of the people's government in Nei Monggol on the eve of the victory of the national revolution, and the realization of regional national autonomy. The rapid development of the Nei Monggol revolution, the success of the "3 April Conference" and "1 May General Meeting," and the establishment of the people's government of the autonomous region were all victories for the leadership of that party. None of all the achievements and victories after the founding of the Nei Monggol Autonomous Region was not scored under the leadership of the party. Without a shadow of doubt, in the socialist modernization of Nei Monggol Autonomous Region in the days ahead, only under the leadership of the CPC can a victory be achieved.

2. We must proceed from reality in all matters. A concrete problem must be subjected to a concrete analysis. Everything must be based on reality. This is the cream of Marxism and our party's ideological line. At the 20th anniversary of the founding of Nei Monggol Autonomous Region, I wanted to take this as a guide and seriously sum up experiences in this respect. It may be remembered that I suggested studying the zoning features and national features of the region of Nei Monggol, directing the "spearhead" of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought at Nei Monggol reality as the "target," working creatively, and carving out a path compatible with the realities of Nei Monggol. This was my actual experience in many years of work in Nei Monggol. It represented a truth deeply realized by me from a series of successes and setbacks. After the victory of the anti-Japanese war, we [word indistinct] the masses to start work along the lines of an autonomous movement alliance. This won the support of various social strata in Nei Monggol. In the democratic reform in the pastoral area, we first did away with feudal privileges and then gradually got rid of feudal systems with the ripening of conditions, enabling the democratic reform to proceed smoothly. In the land reform involving the area with a mix of Mongolian and Han residents west of Nei Monggol, the following actual conditions were taken into consideration: The Mongolian landlord class had a larger share of land. The Han landlord class had a smaller share. The land allotted to Mongolians and Hans respectively could not satisfy the demand of the Han peasants. It was decided to seek unified distribution of land among Mongolian and Han people. Mongolian peasants were given one more share on the basis of the average amount. The result was that not only was the problem of land for Mongolian and Han peasants resolved, but unity among nationalities was strengthened. The reason these approaches proved successful and work proceeded relatively smoothly was acting in line with objective realities. We may again take up the problem of animal breeding. During the period of democratic revolution, in some parts of the pastoral area, the way of carrying out the rural reform was for a time borrowed. Herdsmen were made the target of struggle. Animals were taken away to be distributed. The result was that animal husbandry suffered from serious disruption. Luckily, this mistake was corrected in time, without causing a problem affecting the whole area. This was taken as a lesson. With the approval of the party Central Committee, a policy of freedom from distribution, from struggle, and from class distinction and benefits for both

hired herdsmen and herd owners was formulated for the pastoral area, enabling its economy to be protected and to very quickly recover and develop. During the period of socialist transformation, it was realized that the pastoral area's animals were not only means of production but also means of subsistence. The animal husbandry-based economy was weak and liable to be disrupted. In light of this feature, a request for approval was made to the party Central Committee. The same policy of redemption as applied to the national bourgeois class was followed in the socialist transformation of the pastoral area. Along the lines of a joint state-private pasture, the herd owner economy was transformed. With policy in order, in making great changes about the pastoral area's system of ownership, the steady and normal development of production in animal husbandry was still fundamentally maintained. During socialist transformation and for quite a long period thereafter, in our policy toward the pastoral area, we upheld the guideline calling for a proper degree of liberalization and permanent stability and freedom from change. In developing the pastoral area's economy, we again put forward the idea that "of one thousand and one rules, the development of animal husbandry is the most important." Under the guidance of such thinking, a series of measures compatible with the pastoral area's features and conducive to the development of animal husbandry were adopted, enabling animal husbandry to basically maintain steady growth from year to year for a fairly long period of time. Practice in 40 years once again shows that any approach compatible with reality can win the backing and support of the masses in the countryside, in the pastoral area, or in the urban area and be rewarded with anticipated results. Proceeding from reality in all matters is not only the fundamental experience of achieving results in the work of Nei Monggol in the past but also an important rule that must be observed in the struggle to achieve new victories in the days ahead. Especially in the new period of socialist modernization, conditions about reform, openness, and revitalization are more complicated and tasks more arduous. To take full cognizance of Nei Monggol's features and proceed from reality in all matters becomes a matter of still greater importance.

3. We must strengthen national unity. In the article, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Chairman Mao said: "Unity of the state, unity of the people, and unity among people of all nationalities in the country--this is a fundamental guarantee for the victory that we must achieve in our cause." This is the case with the whole country. The same is true of an area practicing regional national autonomy. Unity covers unity among people of all nationalities of the country, unity among people of all nationalities in the autonomous region and unity of the nation. Only with such unity strengthened and the reunification of the motherland consolidated, and with the backing of a unified powerful and great motherland, can the unification of people in areas practicing regional national autonomy stimulate the development of various undertakings in a still better way. This is also a truth already borne out by practice. As early as in the 1960's, I stressed this problem many times. I also pointed out that we must base ourselves on the realities of Nei Monggol in developing its economy and culture, universally improve the ideological and political qualities of people of various nationalities, and gradually resolve this problem in a fundamental way. It was highly deplorable that such a task was interrupted by the

"10 years of catastrophe." The two counterrevolutionary groups represented by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" freely trampled upon the relations among nationalities, seriously disrupted national unity, made a mess of an otherwise well placed Nei Monggol, and caused various fields of endeavor in the autonomous region to suffer serious losses. This has told us by negative example how important national unity is! Unity is the fine tradition of our party and our people and is where the common interests of people of all nationalities lie. It is a guarantee for victory in our socialist cause. In the several thousand years of common development efforts of people of all nationalities of China, despite periods of inharmony and war, reconciliation always resulted with a common effort directed toward the making of our brilliant history. The formation and development of the Mongolian nationality is also a result of the unity of people of various nationalities. Since our proletariat stepped on the political stage, such a fine national tradition as unity has been inherited and carried forward. The victory of our revolution especially represents a paean to revolutionary mass unity. Under the leadership of the CPC, the victory of the revolution in the Nei Monggol region, the establishment of the autonomous region, and every achievement in socialist construction have all been brought about through the close unity of people of various nationalities. During the period of the democratic revolution and socialist revolution, we successfully reformed matters of religion and transformed princes, dukes, the nobility, herd owners and a large number of Kuomintang military and government personnel, with a comprehensive unified revolutionary front of people of various nationalities and of various social strata formed. This is also a victory for the policy of unity. Unity is the basis for victory. This is our personal experience and also an unqualified truth proved by our national history and revolutionary practice. Nei Monggol, with its practice of regional national autonomy, historical experiences, and actual struggle--all these call on us to strengthen revolutionary mass unity, especially unity of people of various nationalities and unity of the nation. Narrow nationalism and mountain-stronghold mentality reflect feudal backward consciousness. Such dregs harmful to unity and incompatible with spiritual civilization interfere with socialist modernization and must be discarded without the least hesitation. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, after an effort in bringing order out of chaos and the firm implementation of the policy toward nationalities, socialist national relations of equality, unity, friendship, and mutual help have been restored and developed. Unity among the Mongolian people has also been strengthened. Mass unity among people of various nationalities and unity of the nation have cost us sweat and blood in a long period of common struggle and must be cherished. Unity involves, most important of all, party unity and unity among cadres. The key to success lies in unity among leadership cadres at various levels and leadership cores at various levels. Leadership cadres at various levels, including retired old comrades, must fully recognize their role in the matter of unity and seek the proper handling of unity in a spontaneous and conscious manner. On the basis of the common ideal of building a socialist modern and powerful country and building a socialist modernized Nei Monggol, they must closely unify people of various nationalities and enable such mass unity to be continuously consolidated and developed.

4. We must train cadres. The training of cadres is a major issue of great strategic significance. Our party has all along paid great attention to the matter. In various periods of revolution, the party Central Committee directly trained large numbers of fine cadres for Nei Monggol. This provided an important condition for Nei Monggol's being capable of sticking it out in the difficult period of revolutionary struggle and being capable of quickly starting work in the period of development. After the victory in the anti-Japanese war, the reason the revolution in Nei Monggol developed so quickly was that apart from the influence of the national situation and the revolutionary demand of the masses, the party Central Committee sent up a large number of cadres from Yanan and the liberated areas of northeast China and north China--a move that carried decisive significance. To meet the needs of revolution and construction, the party organizations of Nei Monggol also paid great attention to cultivating cadres. Areas of minority nationalities paid particular attention to the training of people of given nationalities and local cadres. Cadres of minority nationalities and local cadres have inherent links with the masses. Their influence and role can hardly be replaced by other cadres. During the period of the Nei Monggol Autonomous Movement Alliance and in the period shortly after the founding of the Nei Monggol Autonomous Government, cadre schools of various kinds were successively established in Zhangjiakou, Chifeng, Ulan Hot, Qiqihar, and other areas. Large numbers of Army cadres and local cadres were trained. They were dispatched separately to the war front, to various leagues and banners, and to the fronts in various fields of endeavor. After national liberation, there was a planned mobilization effort. A number of intellectuals and cadres in various fields were recruited and sent to Nei Monggol. Together with local cadres, they worked faithfully and industriously. With their long period of work in the Nei Monggol region, they made an important contribution to the revolution and construction effort of the Nei Monggol Autonomous Region. To train more cadres and meet the needs of the development of the socialist cause, party schools at various levels and cadre schools of various kinds were again set up. A comprehensive university of Nei Monggol and colleges specialized in various fields were further established. Through these party schools, cadre schools, colleges and institutes of higher learning, and technical secondary schools (the latter available in a still greater number), one group after another of cadres specialized in different fields was turned out, among which were many cadres of various nationalities and female cadres. They were distributed over various areas and various fronts of the region. Most were able to play a backbone role in their respective posts. For 40 years, there has been continuous development in various fields of endeavor. One crop of cadres after another in the Nei Monggol Autonomous Region has been turned out to continue the needed work without interruption. This is directly linked to our constant attention to the training of cadres. In the matter of cadres, we must have strategic foresight. In the socialist modernization effort at present and in future, there will be more exacting demands on cadres. A large number of specialized personnel and backbone leadership cadres will be needed to reinforce the ranks of cadres. Only by training and promoting cadres with no chance missed can we guarantee satisfying the demands of the development of the building of the two civilizations in the new historical period.

We look back over the past and sum up experiences for no other reason than to prepare for the future and to better stimulate the triumphant advance of our cause. In his "Government Work Report" at the Fifth Session of the Sixth NPC, Premier Zhao said: "We must concentrate forces to do two things well: First, in the economic field, we must uphold a correct guideline for construction, widely launch a campaign to increase production and practice economy and to increase income and reduce expenses, get deeply involved with the reform of systems, enlarge the scope of openness, and strive to guarantee the sustained and steady development of the whole national economy. Second, in the political and ideological areas, we must in a penetrating way conduct publicity and education about the need to uphold the four cardinal principles. We must resolutely fight bourgeois liberalization, strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization, and further consolidate and develop the political situation of stability and unity." On the problem of nationalities, he also pointed out: "Our country comprises various nationalities. The continuous strengthening of mass unity of people of various nationalities in the country carries great significance." Meanwhile, he stressed: "We must seriously observe the 'Law Governing Self-Government for Nationality Areas,' enabling our self-government system for nationality areas to get increasingly perfect." The two important matters to be handled well with the concentration of forces are consistent with the party's main task in the new period put forward at the 12th National Party Congress and represent a long-term task for the whole party and people of all nationalities of the country. Like all other parts of the country, the Nei Monggol Autonomous Region must concentrate forces to handle two important matters well. As an area practicing regional national autonomy, it should take into full consideration its own national and regional features in handling these two important matters. It must proceed from reality and, on the basis of summing up past experiences, put forward approaches compatible with its own conditions. In light of the conditions of Nei Monggol, I feel that there are several problems worth noting, as follows: First, we must seriously enforce the "Law Governing Self-Government for Nationality Areas." The "Law Governing Self-Government" was formulated in light of the conditions of the whole country. Nei Monggol is an area practicing national regional autonomy. It must take the "Law Governing Self-Government" as a basis and act according to actual conditions in formulating its regional "regulations governing self-government" and various separate rules. This is an important matter that must be taken up with no time lost. The formulation of "regulations governing self-government" represents a fundamental effort in legislation. It marks the level of development and level of autonomy of a national autonomous region. Given these fundamental laws and rules formulated, only with legal protection for the right of autonomy can better play be given to their application and development, and only in this way can an effective boost be given in a legal form to the economic construction of the autonomous region and the development of various social undertakings. Second, we must take into consideration such features as the Mongolians of the Nei Monggol Autonomous Region being a people practicing national regional autonomy, the Hans accounting for the majority, most of the areas being occupied by a mix of various nationalities, and various leagues and banners being historically in a state of separation. While strengthening unity among various nationalities of the country, we

must pay particular attention to strengthening unity among people of various nationalities in the region and unity of the Mongolians. We must take the matter of study and education about the Marxist-Leninist concept of nationalities and theory of nationalities as regular business, so that people of all nationalities of the region can realize the importance of national unity in regard to theory and practice, thus consciously developing socialist national relations of equality, unity, fraternal love, and mutual help in a joint effort toward the building of the Nei Monggol Autonomous Region. Third, we must take note of the fact that while economic, scientific, technical, cultural, and educational undertakings in Nei Monggol have shown quite considerable development, it is still behind other advanced areas. In light of these realities, we must strive to catch up and use every means to raise social productivity. We must continue energetically developing economic, scientific, technical, cultural, and educational undertakings, strengthening scientific research, and reinforcing the ranks of intellectuals. We must especially accelerate the development of fundamental education and strive to raise the scientific and cultural levels of the whole nation and of the whole region. Only in this way can we gradually narrow the gap and effectively change the state of backwardness. Fourth, we must bear in mind such superior features of the Nei Monggol region as its vast land rich in resources, 1.3 billion mu of pasture, and 80 million mu of cultivated area. We must take full cognizance of the existence of tremendous potential in its economic development. We must realistically carry out reforms and seriously implement the guideline calling for openness and revitalization, tapping to the full hidden tremendous potential. We must insist on taking economic construction as the center. Animal husbandry represents the feature of Nei Monggol's economy and a strong point of Nei Monggol. In economic development we must pay attention to and call into play this strong point. We must pay attention to the combination of agriculture, animal husbandry, and afforestation; the coordinated development of industry, agriculture, and animal husbandry; and the need for industry and agriculture to support animal husbandry and various trades to support each other. While energetically developing the economy, we must strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization. On the basis of investigation and research, we must formulate realistic general and specific policies for the building and development of material and spiritual civilization, stimulating a start in the socialist cause of the whole autonomous region. In sum, people of various nationalities must more closely rally around the party Central Committee; firmly and unswervingly uphold the four cardinal principles as a key to the successful management of a state; resolutely implement the general guideline for reform, opening up, and revitalization in seeking modernization; resolutely proceed from reality in all matters; and build, with still more remarkable performance, a socialist modern Nei Monggol and socialism with Chinese features.

The cause is developing, just as history is advancing. I trust that in the new historical period of socialist modernization, people of various nationalities of Nei Monggol will surely march forward triumphantly with still more courageous steps, creating a still more beautiful tomorrow!

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CHENG MING INTERVIEWS FANG LIZHI

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[Special feature: "Fang Lizhi Has Dialogue With Wen Hui and Ming Lei"—report by CHENG MING chief editor and special correspondent who made a special trip to Rome to see Professor Fang"—capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] Foreword by Ming Lei

Since the rise of the student movement throughout China in December 1986, Professor Fang Lizhi, vice president of the Anhui University of Science and Technology, which is the cradle of the current student movement, has suddenly become a person in the world limelight. This spiritual leader of Chinese students has been styled by overseas mass media as the "Sakharov of China," although the two men's cases are not completely the same.

After Fang Lizhi was transferred to a new post and expelled from the party, many people in China and abroad were concerned about his situation, being worried that he might be subject to various restrictions. People especially hoped to hear what he was thinking about under pressure and how he was upholding his ideal of democratization in China. Although people were relieved to learn that Fang Lizhi had been permitted to go abroad, the news has raised a new question--is the CPC going to make use of Fang to promote its image as an enlightened party?

Bearing this question in mind and with a respectful feeling for Professor Fang Lizhi, Mr Wen Hui, chief editor of CHENG MING, and I have made a special trip to the Institute of Physics, University of Rome, to call on Professor Fang. The atmosphere during the whole interview with Professor Fang was "relaxed and harmonious"—after all, everybody can have a breath of free air in Rome. Despite heavy pressure, Professor Fang still displayed, as he used to do, great courage in airing his views without restraint. He has indeed proved himself to be among the elite of the Chinese nation. The following is the dialogue between Professor Fang and the interviewers transcribed from a recording of the interview. [End Foreword]

The time of interview: from around 0900 to 1200, 18 June 1987 (about 3 hours).

The place of interview: Professor Fang Lizhi's office at the Institute of Physics, University of Rome.

Interviewers: Wen Hui, CHENG MING chief editor; and Ming Lei, CHENG MING special correspondent to Paris.

Dialogue transcribed by Ming Lei.

Wen Hui (hereinafter referred to as Wen): Professor Fang, this is the first time we have met you. In fact we have known about you long ago. There might be a gap of several light years between you as a natural scientist, and me as an ordinary man since I know nothing about natural sciences, but you are also a thinker and a eulogist of the democratic movement. In terms of this, I believe, the gap between us is much narrower or even tends to be zero.

I have read all the speeches you delivered at Tongji University, Beijing University, Jiaotong University, and Zhejiang University. I really appreciate your views and opinions. I think you have presented some original ideas in raising such issues as total westernization, political reform, and the social responsibilities of the intelligentsia. I am sure that these issues and views raised under the current circumstances in China will have great impact on the process of democratization in China. All of us have the deepest esteem for you.

CHENG MING magazine has a large readership spreading over five continents and direct subscribers in more than 60 countries. Our readers widely acknowledge you as a progressive representative of this generation of intellectuals. They all revere you very much and are deeply concerned for your present situation. Since you were transferred from Hefei to Beijing, people have been worried that your personal and democratic rights would be curtailed. As for your expulsion from the party, people overseas are just indifferent to it because they think it is less important (it is naturally very important in China as party membership means many privileges). What they think important is your freedom in daily life and work. It is reported that many Hong Kong reporters visiting Beijing have put you on the top of their interviewees' list. Having returned from Beijing, some of them said that although they managed to visit your home, you refused their request for an interview and they were entertained by your wife instead. We suppose that there were two possibilities: Perhaps the authorities did not want you to be interviewed; or you wanted to protect yourself so that you can carry on your struggle--this is a strategy which is beyond reproach. So, as we see it abroad, you must be under heavy pressure at the moment. Therefore, we are worried about you. We hope that this interview with you will give people abroad some tips about your present and future. Also, we would like to know whether it is a show, presented by the authorities to people abroad, in allowing you to visit Italy this time.

The Present Situation and Social Responsibilities

IN THE CASE OF REPUDIATION, YOU ONLY HAVE THE FREEDOM TO CONFESS YOUR FAULT BUT NO RIGHT TO REFUTE CRITICISM AGAINST YOU. SO FAR I HAVE NOT MADE ANY SELF-CRITICISM. YOU CANNOT SAY THERE IS NO PRESSURE ON ME, BUT I MYSELF HAVE FELT LESS PRESSURE THAN PEOPLE ABROAD HAVE EXPECTED.... I THINK SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH CAN ALSO HELP TO FORWARD DEMOCRATIZATION AND HAVE AN INFLUENCE ON PEOPLE'S CONCEPTS OF VALUES AS WELL AS ON METHODOLOGY.

Fang Lizhi (hereinafter referred to as Fang): As far as my present situation is concerned, to be honest, you cannot say there is no pressure on me. But I myself have felt perhaps less pressure than people abroad have expected.

Wen: You have been repudiated. This is a kind of pressure, isn't it?

Fang: They don't call it repudiation, they said that only criticism will be allowed in the current struggle (against bourgeois liberalization). In fact, in the case of criticism, you must be allowed to refute freely any criticism against you. Of course, you can also accept criticism. But this time, the criticized is allowed to do nothing other than confess his fault. So this is not criticism but repudiation.

Wen: Have you been asked to make a self-criticism?

Fang: No, so far I haven't made any self-criticism.

Wen: I have read a collection of your speeches compiled by them for use in the repudiation. Did they garble any statements of yours?

Fang: Some parts of that thick book are complete speeches while others are abridged versions. My speech published in SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO was not abridged, neither was my speech delivered at the University of Science and Technology. But some speeches were abridged.

Wen: Have any of your views been distorted?

Fang: The speech at the Chemical Engineering College is very incomplete. Actually it was a compilation of some remarks that I made at a small forum rather than a formal speech. Such random remarks were made during conversation after meals. Probably the conversation was recorded by someone. But it is a very incomplete recording which does not contain any other people's remarks but mine.

Wen: What did you talk about on that occasion?

Fang: The content of the conversation was similar to that of my speeches at Jiaotong University and Tongji University. It was on the unhealthy tendencies within the party which I deemed it necessary to eradicate.

Ming Lei (hereinafter referred to as Ming): Do you feel quite a heavy mental pressure?

Fang: According to the rule of physics, pressure always shows a duality: On the one hand, pressure comes from the exterior of an object; on the other, the object itself can generate a force to bear the external pressure. Some people may feel indifferent to pressure. On my part, I think some things do not affect me very much. With regard to my everyday life, I can now spare more time for my own work as I am no longer a vice president of a university. In fact doing research is my most favorite job. Perhaps people outside do not know that it was my original intention to take up the post of vice president.

I have told many people that I would prefer to engage in research than spend my time in administrative work. So, in this sense, I feel I am leading a better life now!

Wen: Then you are feeling "relaxed" now? (Fang smiled at that point)

Fang: I suppose that you are familiar with the circumstances in China. As a vice president I had to take care of a lot of trivial administrative work, such as distribution of dormitories. Such administrative work was indeed a heavy burden on me. However, I have worked in school for nearly 30 years and I have an affection for students. In fact students will become intellectual in the future. Anyway, quitting school is a regrettable fact to me. By the way, of course I still have opportunities to keep in touch with my fellow researchers and intellectuals, but after all I cannot maintain such close ties with students as before.

As far as social responsibilities are concerned, if I still hold the post of vice president, of course I can do more jobs. Western intellectuals always think of this question too. For example, last week, some intellectuals here discussed questions concerning genetic studies--whether genetic research should be carried on and whether the results of genetic research will have a destructive impact on living beings and human society. This is a case similar to that which arose in the past when the research in nuclear physics was started. Scientists were worried about the possible destruction of society by nuclear bombs. All these are related to social responsibilities. Although scientists are not fully responsible for the consequence, they are partly responsible for it or, at least, they bear a responsibility to society when presenting the results of their studies. As astrophysicists, we do not have such direct an influence as nuclear and genetic scientists have on society. But astronomical study can bring about conceptual changes which are a wealth of human society. It is up to us to publicize such changes, so this is also our social responsibility. Since society provides us with the resources that we need in doing research, the fruit of our research should be shared by all members of society. In fact, the changes brought about by astronomical research have played a great role in history or did play a great role for a while. The most well-known example is the result of work by Copernicus which played a tremendous role in the intellectual development of a whole generation. What is more, Copernicus brought about an entire change in mankind's concepts, and conceptual changes may in their turn affect society. Therefore, academic research is closely related to society. For example, many people are interested in the question as to whether the universe is finite or infinite. Research in this topic may add something to people's knowledge and have a great impact on old concepts and on man's concepts of values and methodology as a whole. In this sense, academic research is also a social responsibility. It was this very viewpoint that actuated me to raise this issue with students in the very beginning.

Wen: If the universe was proved to be finite it would indeed have a formidable impact on Marxist philosophy and would amend the dialectical materialism theory of infinite time and space. It would also give people an inspiration, reminding them that even the basic principles of Marxism must not be worshipped as "plain truth" but need reappraisal.

Fang (laughing): But this problem still remains unsolved. We still cannot prove that the universe is infinite and, of course, we have not managed to prove that it is finite either. We call this an "open question." Since it is an open question, it must be open to academic inquiry. Marx and Engels' conclusion in this field did not prove anything. As astronomers we do not believe that the universe is necessarily infinite. Only solid proof can convince us, but at the moment we are still looking for an answer to this question.

Wen: This is a scientific attitude. If Marx were still alive, I think, he wouldn't object to the study of this question. But Hu Qiaomu has so far resolutely objected to studying this question. His is a typical example of an absolutely ossified mind.

Fang: That's why we cannot accept such a view. As this question is related to our specialized field, we just cannot accept this "view."

Wen: Let us go back to the issue on special responsibility that you have just talked about. I am sure people abroad must be deeply interested in it. They would appreciate it since fulfilling such responsibilities can greatly contribute to mankind's life. But, I am afraid that they would be more concerned about whether Chinese intellectuals, including you, could continue to play a role as before and how they could play such a role, in the current struggle against bourgeois liberalization.

Fang: I would like to talk straight about my personal views on certain issues. I think we should view the role of intellectuals in a broader sense rather than in a narrow one. In a broad sense, the whole Chinese culture needs to be transformed or, to put it more precisely, be transformed in all respects. Politics is naturally one of the very key links. In some cases, reform in this field can score rapid results indeed. But it won't work without preparations. The job I am usually doing at the moment can help to forward democratization as well--I mean that scientific research can also help to push ahead the process of democratization, because I believe that the sciences will not develop without democracy. This is a very crucial point. The sciences cannot possibly develop without a democratic environment and atmosphere. In the West, especially in Italy--the cradle of the Renaissance, democracy and sciences develop side by side parallel to each other. One of the most significant examples is the case of Galileo--the development of his views was linked with the prevalent ideology of his time. Galileo's contributions, in terms of the impact of his views on society, were definitely comparable to any one social scientist's contributions to the promotion of democracy.

Wen: In opposing such academic studies, Hu Qiaomu and his ilk have actually infringed the freedom of academic inquiry and interfered in scientific practice.

Fang: Freedom of academic inquiry is one of the basic conditions for development of the sciences. The efforts to promote sciences are bound to clash with views that oppose freedom of academic inquiry and democracy. But such efforts are essential.

Wen: This viewpoint conforms to reality. From a macroscopic perspective, the efforts to promote cultural, scientific, and economic development will harm the roots of the anti-democratic feudal autocracy. These are projects of vital and lasting importance, a practice and reform of fundamental importance. For the time being, our question is: What we are going to do from the microscopic or political point of view? Did you say that human rights are a basic condition for the development of democracy, and the struggle for democracy can develop further after the human rights issue is solved?

On Human Rights and Democracy

THE CORE OF THE CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY LIES IN HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THEN FOLLOWS THE METHOD OF PRACTICING DEMOCRACY. FOR THE MOMENT I STILL CANNOT OFFER ANY CONCRETE IDEA TO ACHIEVE DEMOCRACY. I HAVE SIMPLY DISCOVERED SOME PROBLEMS IN CHINA. SOME PEOPLE ARE PLAN TO FOUNDED A POLITICAL PARTY, BUT IT WOULD HAVE VERY LITTLE INFLUENCE ON THE SITUATION IN CHINA. YOU CAN HARDLY EXPECT THAT THE OLD GENERATION WOULD CHANGE THEIR VIEWS. THE ONLY THING YOU CAN DO IS TO WAIT UNTIL ALL OF THEM DIE.

Fang: Yes, the core of the concept of democracy lies in human rights, and then follows the method of practicing democracy.

Wen: The crux of the problem lies in the fact that the present regime does not accept full democracy.

(At this point Ming Lei chipped in: I remember that Professor Fang did say that this is a sensitive issue....)

Fang (smiling): Oh yes, I did say in a speech that this is a sensitive term.

Wen: They do not allow full human rights and they fear to see the people enjoy full human rights. They despise the legal system and this act is in itself an infringement upon human rights. To be sure, China has promulgated a constitution (though it has conspicuous shortcomings), but they do not abide by the constitution in dealing with many things. Therefore, how to fight for human rights is a major problem.

CPC theoreticians always claim that socialism has many superior natures, one of them being the people's democracy which is a million times superior to the democracy practiced in capitalist countries. But the fact is that capitalist countries tolerate a pretty high degree of democracy. During my stay in Rome this time, I have seen everywhere posters put up by the Italian Communist Party to run its election campaign and to mock its political opponents. Walls in some places have even turned out to be "red oceans." The ruling party merely tolerates such a freedom enjoyed by the opposing communist party. Can you ever call this fake democracy and fake freedom? Meanwhile, in those countries "under communist leadership," even people who hold different political views have to be repudiated, struggled against, punished, or jailed. How can these countries claim such practices to be human rights, democracy, and freedom?

Ming: We are looking forward to hearing your opinion on the concrete scheme to fight for human rights and freedom in China.

Fang: I think yours is the question of how to achieve democracy. To be honest, I cannot offer any really mature view on how to achieve democracy. So far I am not sure about how to do it.

Ming: We have read a few speeches that you delivered in China. Many ideas on democratization that you raised have aroused sympathy among many people including some scholars. All of them wish to see all these ideas materialized, but it seems that nobody has found any concrete approach to achieving it. This is due to the special circumstances under communist regimes. This is not a case exclusive to China. The case is the same in all communist states in the world. What do you think can be done to make a breakthrough?

Fang: That is a question that I still haven't solved. In fact, I was asked to answer the same question many times. When I gave talks, many students handed in brief notes asking the same question: "How can democracy actually be realized?" Their question is the same as yours. I always answered them frankly: For the moment I still cannot offer any concrete idea or mode to achieve democracy in China. I have simply discovered some of China's problems.

But I do believe that one must achieve democracy by democratic rather than by non-democratic means. What is obtained by non-democratic means is not democracy. What is bestowed by the authorities is not democracy. I am not sure whether I have mentioned this point before. We must fight for democracy by democratic means--we could simply wait until the whole old generation die or until such programs as democratic elections finally come true. If you just kill them, the country will later return to the non-democratic road somehow. We do have thoughts about this question.

Wen: Some intellectuals in mainland China believe that spreading the idea of democracy is an essential step toward the success of the reform, and the elimination of feudalism as a root of the obstacles to the reform. Their method can be called the method of "reducing the ideology to a mere slogan." You did mention this method in some of your speeches. You suggested that those terms concerning ideology put forward by the communist party be retained as "mere slogans" and the "four cardinal principles" be kept as a "nominal" guideline while another guideline is followed. But those stubborn men in power will never tolerate your scheme.

You have also encouraged intellectuals to join the party so that they can play a role in transforming it. But your good will has been distorted and turned down by those people in power and has been criticized in the current struggle against bourgeois liberalization. I believe that the efforts to transform the party will come to almost naught. You people can join the party in hundreds, thousands, or even tens of thousands. But in a party without democracy you must obey the patriarchs. So long as the nature of this old folks' party, the patriarchal system, and the structure of "one man laying down the law" remain unchanged, you can achieve nothing, however ambitious you are. The situation would possibly be different only if all these ambitious people in their hundreds or thousands became members of the CPC Central Committee, members of the Secretariat, members of the Political Bureau, or

even members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. But I am afraid that some of these people may become morally degenerate under the current political structure.

Fang: Of course, there will be some difficulties. Some people abroad plan to found a political party, but it would have very little influence on the situation in China. If you don't agree with the scheme you have just mentioned, then what else can be done? Perhaps some people may raise the possibility of a thorough revolution, but I don't think the sacrifice of lives is worthwhile. We must set store by efficiency and strategy in doing things. To be sure, to implement the scheme will be a very hard job and indeed we must be patient in waiting. Physicists also have to wait before something can be achieved in the field of physics. Planck effect is a term used in physics. And now we are facing a sociological Planck effect. Planck was the first German to present the new quantum theory. He said: "Now everybody supports the new quantum theory, because all the old men are dead." Physicists call this episode Planck effect. In fact this name can also apply to society. You can hardly persuade the old generation to change their views. So what you can do is to apply the concept of Planck effect, in other words, wait until all of them die.

On the Student Movement

I BELIEVE IT IS WRONG TO NEGATE THE STUDENT MOVEMENT. BEING AFRAID OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT IS AN EXPRESSION OF LACK OF CONFIDENCE. THE STUDENT MOVEMENT HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION. THEIR MOTIVE IS TO SUPPORT THE REFORM AND THEIR ACT CONFORMS TO THE CONSTITUTION. AND, IN PARTICULAR, THE STUDENT DEMONSTRATION IN HEFEI WAS ENTIRELY LEGAL SINCE THE PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU HAD BEEN INFORMED OF THEIR PLAN IN ADVANCE.

Wen: The nationwide student movement that happened a few months ago was an act beyond reproach which was aimed at promoting of democracy. Some people abroad said that the student movement was "more of a hindrance than a help," "upset the deployment of the reformers' faction," and "led to Hu Yaobang's downfall." I believe this view is wrong. In general, mass movements may have both positive and negative effects. The current student movement has exposed problems in the political, economic, and educational fields, and has expressed students' sympathy with the reform and their desire for a thorough reform. It has served as a catalytic agent in further awakening the people and in kindling their courage to fight against bureaucracy and autocracy. It is of far-reaching significance. Therefore its positive effects have overwhelmed its negative effects. The conservative force made use of the opportunity to overthrow Hu Yaobang. This was an operation the conservative faction would launch sooner or later. But, as this was done, the conservative faction has exposed itself in its true colors. This is very disadvantageous to members of this faction. In labeling the current student movement as bourgeois liberalization, they are definitely slandering the students.

Fang: I also agree that it is wrong to negate the current student movement. The current student movement is a struggle, fighting for democracy by democratic means. Of course this does not necessarily mean that students go on the streets to demonstrate. At the very beginning I advised them not

to stage any demonstration. Anyway, their demonstration was legal. Student movement is absolutely not bourgeois liberalization, which by definition is an anti-party anti-socialist trend. Our students did not mean to oppose the party and socialism, they just held demonstrations! How can they be reproached for opposing the party and socialism? They waged demonstrations to demand better implementation of the election law. I believe that both their motive and action were not against the party and socialism. They had a good motive, they supported the reform, and their action conformed with the constitution. And for the case of Hefei demonstration in particular, they had informed the public security bureau of the demonstration plan in advance. Everything they did was legal.

Ming: You have made great efforts in encouraging students to fight for democracy. The University of Science and Technology has provided very advanced experience in running elections. All the speeches you delivered before students at different universities in China embody the concepts of democracy, freedom, and human rights. Inspired by these ideas, the nationwide student movement has developed into a mammoth student movement for democracy. Did you anticipate such a consequence at the very beginning?

Fang: The student movement for democracy was inspired by not only my views alone. Other people's views and some social factors have also made contributions. But the rapid development and the large scale of this movement have indeed surprised me.

Wen: As soon as the student movement burst, and since, some big shots in the CPC have been dreadfully frightened.

Fang: This is an expression of lack of confidence.

Wen: It is completely groundless to reproach the student movement for opposing the party and socialism. This is sheer slander. What does opposition to the party mean? What does opposition to socialism mean? There is no definition and it is impossible to give a definition. Even the definition of socialism is under discussion. So how can the "anti-socialist" label be arbitrarily placed on others?

On Upholding the "Four Cardinal Principles"

THE CRUX OF THE PROBLEM IS THAT THINGS THAT SHOULD BE UPHELD ARE NOT UPHELD. FOR EXAMPLE, THE UPHOLDING OF THE FOUR CARDINAL PRINCIPLES OR THREE AND A HALF PRINCIPLES (MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT IS IN ITSELF OPEN TO DISCUSSION) CONFORMS WITH MARXISM? A PRINCIPLE PURSUED BY THE PARIS COMMUNE WAS THAT OF GENERAL ELECTIONS [PU BIAN XUAN JU ZHI 2528 6664 6693 5282 0455]. BUT WE HAVE NEVER IMPLEMENTED UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

Fang: Theoretically, we cannot today clearly define what capitalism is and what socialism is. Those theoreticians in our country still cannot clearly define these terms yet.

Wen: In 1980, I did write an article to air my view that one must explore rather than uphold socialism. I maintained that the slogan "upholding the four cardinal principles" should be changed into "exploring the four cardinal principles." (Fang laughed heartily at this point) Some CPC big shots were furious at my idea and they immediately launched an attack against CHENG MING, exerting every effort to strangle this little monthly. A party organ which is published nationwide attacked me by citing my name, the CPC Central Committee even issued a document prepared by the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee slandering me. Recently, the CPC Central Committee Document No 11 reproached CHENG MING again for "viciously attacking socialism." In fact I have worshipped socialism since I was very young and have made up my mind to plunge into the socialist cause.

Fang: Then we are in common on this point.

Wen: I never oppose the ideal, or real, socialism. I just raise the necessity of exploration of socialism. Since the introduction of an erroneous "socialism" in a wrong time has been proved to be a failure, we must sum up experience, draw lessons, continue to explore socialism, and try to find out a road to the ideal state. But, in putting forward the slogan "upholding the four cardinal principles," they are in fact upholding mistakes, feudalism, autocracy, and dogma.

It is wrong to introduce into an underdeveloped country like China a "socialism" which allows the party to exercise leadership over everything and takes public ownership and the planned economy as the key links. But they still insist on it, and that means they are upholding mistakes.

Promoting the people's democratic dictatorship (the proletarian dictatorship) and the party's leadership (a single party dictatorship) is in fact upholding feudalism and autocracy.

Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought contain correct things and wrong ones as well. As they have upheld something in a pragmatic way (while refusing to implement some correct principles), they have always upheld dogmas instead.

I have been worried that the "four cardinal principles" could be used as four sticks. Unfortunately, my anticipation has come true.

Fang: In my speeches I have asked a question: Can what we have been working for in the past 30 years actually be counted as socialism? If your socialism is an ideal system and is accepted by all the people, then I will not oppose it. Now the point is how to achieve it. Take the four cardinal principles, or the three and a half cardinal principles (Mao Zedong Thought is in itself open to discussion), as an example, actually what should we do to uphold these principles? Are we going to follow Marxism? The general election system is a part of Marxism. This was a principle pursued by the Paris Commune. I have talked about this issue with my students. Now what we are

practicing is grassroots rather than general elections. We are approaching a goal step by step. But anyway we should approach toward direct elections, shouldn't we? This is a principle of Marxism. Are you going to uphold it? If yes, then you should take action to do it. The crux of the problem is that things that should be upheld are not upheld. Who has actually failed to do so? Further examples can still be cited.

Wen: Some scientific experiments are successful and some are not. Here I believe subjective efforts are a contributing factor. Meanwhile, it also depends on whether one's subjective knowledge conforms with objective reality, and whether scientists have worked according to objective laws and scientific rules. The socialism initiated by all the "socialist countries" in the world is an experiment on the largest scale that has ever been launched in human history. It is also an experiment in social sciences. But, like an unsuccessful experiment in natural sciences, this experiment in social sciences has failed. I think it is now the time for communists to announce the failure of this experiment. You may say China has practiced socialism for only some 30 years and it is still too early to conclude that this experiment in China is a failure. But what about the Soviet Union's socialism which has been carried on for 70 years? Still, can we not draw a conclusion from its case? The Soviet Union's experience has clearly told us that building socialism in violation of objective laws will only lead to disastrous consequences. Apart from its armed forces and military sciences, what superiority does the Soviet Union have over Northern, Western, and Southern Europe, the United States, and Japan? Communists never admit the failure of their experiment but want to carry on their project. Their mentality is just irrational! Do they have blind faith in Marxism or are they infatuated with their power or prestige? I believe the correct answer should be the latter. Marxism maintains that socialism must be built on a premise, namely, the productivity level of the society must be very, very high. Today's communists have distorted and violated this basic concept of Marxism and refused to correct but insist on their mistakes. This has brought about formidable losses to mankind (at least half of the world's population)!

On Socialism

IN CHINA, PEOPLE THINK OF SOCIALISM AS AN IDEAL SOCIETY. BUT THE PROBLEM LIES IN PRACTICE. IN FACT NORTHERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ARE THE MOST TYPICAL SOCIETIES EMBODYING SOCIALIST FACTORS. I HAVE COMMITTED A MARCO POLO-TYPE MISTAKE. MARCO POLO TRIED TO TELL PEOPLE IN THE WEST WHAT HE HAD SEEN IN THE EAST, AND I INTRODUCED THE ABC OF THE WEST INTO CHINA. HE WAS MOCKED BY HIS CONTEMPORARIES AND I AM CRITICIZED BY MINE.

Fang: I think the habit of "refusing to admit one's mistakes" that you have mentioned is common of many people. In the West, it is also very hard for some presidents to admit their mistakes. However, in a democratic state, it is guaranteed that mistakes can be corrected in due course. If a president has really committed mistakes, he can be removed from his post. If a political party does not perform well, it can also be replaced by another. Democracy is

the key link in this guarantee. Now the key argument is that the socialist principle is still quite all right, and the problem lies in that this principle is not well implemented. Of course the views vary on this argument and people's interpretations of the term "socialism" are different. In China, people always think of socialism as an ideal society, a perfect society, where there is no exploitation and unemployment but a very high standard of living. Due to this interpretation, nobody would object to this principle. So the crux of the problem lies in practice. Whether it is possible to practice this principle or what the result will be if this principle is practiced is just another question. Such being the case, can you tell me what is failure? If you debate with them, they may argue: How can our principle fail? Everybody agrees with it. You can only say we have not properly implemented the principle, but you cannot complain that the principle is not good.

Ming: But sometimes principles are very dangerous things. For example, in recommending his ideal socialism, Mao Zedong wanted to bring the Chinese people as soon as possible to an ideal society that was the product of his fantasy. And he made all the Chinese people pay a high price for his [word indistinct]. If he refused to admit his failure but just attributed the bad results to poor performance, then all the Chinese people would have to blindly carry on his project. This is a dangerous principle indeed.

Fang (smiling): Yes, that's it. Therefore we must first make clear what question we should discuss. The question for discussion is: Which is the right way for us? To put it more precisely, is the way that we have followed in the past 30 years a correct one? Or, is everybody willing to go to the ideal society? I think nobody would say he doesn't want to go to the ideal society!

Wen: I have visited more than 20 countries. If someone asks me, where actually is socialism? My answer will be: It will be much easier to find socialist factors in advanced Western countries than in those so-called "socialist countries," including China.

Fang: I also have the same feeling.

Wen: Although the United States is styled the "number one imperialist state," it does show some socialist factors. Of course it is not a socialist country. Northern European countries and West Germany show even more socialist factors. The peoples of these countries enjoy high living standards and good social welfare. If Deng Xiaoping's statement—"poverty is not socialism" is correct, he should recognize the socialist factors shown in these rich countries.

Fang: Northern European countries are the most typical societies embodying socialist factors. I talked with some Vietnamese here, they told me: If what we are practicing in Vietnam is socialism, then, just moving ahead, we will arrive at communism very soon!

Wen (smiling): They are advanced indeed. The more underdeveloped a country is, the more eager it is to practice communism. As soon as I take up this topic, I immediately think of Pol Pot. He led the "communist world" by creating a "socialism" without banknotes and commodity economy. But it was also he who was most bitterly rebuffed by history. There is no use to argue with these Don Quixote-type putschists—intellectuals can hardly reason things out with soldiers. They have indeed violated Marxist principles. When an underdeveloped feudal state or a state with a low level of capitalism sets to building Marxist socialism, it can at most achieve a feudal bureaucratic socialism instead. Such being the case, a ruling class in communist garb will replace the feudal class and the bourgeoisie. This ruling class, or "new class" as Djilas calls it, is actually a bureaucrat-capitalist class. Under the rule of this class, economic development will be very limited and political democratization is just out of the question. Those CPC big shots said: "Promoting bourgeois liberalization means to promote capitalism; in other words, to try to put the clock back." However, facts have already shown that capitalism is much superior to the "socialism" that is built recklessly. Just compare Hong Kong with mainland China and compare West Berlin with East Berlin from a historical perspective. Which is more advanced and which is actually "putting the clock back?"

Fang: Some people asked me what mistake I had committed. I told them I had committed a Marco Polo-type mistake. Marco Polo wrote in Italy the book "Description of the World" to record what he had seen in the East. His narration was denounced as wild tales and nobody believed what he said. In fact I have merely introduced the ABC of the West into China. It is a record of my own real feeling. But they just criticize me for talking nonsense! Nowadays many people still know nothing about the West but believe that the West today remains the same as in Marx' times.

Wen: Oh yes, that was 19th-century Britain. Now some people visiting Europe and America always like to exaggerate some dark aspects of the West, say, the problem of tramps.

Fang: Some of those tramps are illegal immigrants rather than local workers. Local governments just don't want to expel them. In fact, this is a humanitarian policy.

On "Total Westernization"

I appreciate "total westernization," which refers to "opening to the outside world in all directions." But this does not mean that even having a high nose is good. Taking the Polish Trade Union Solidarity, for example, our Polish friends said that if there were no Soviet influence, Poland would have changed long ago.

Wen: Things are quite clear that not all roads lead to Rome. Some roads to Rome may be closed to you just as the ideal society is closed to China and other "socialist countries." I noticed one thing, that the CPC has not acknowledged that it has been wrong to practice socialism; still less it has

acknowledged that "socialism" has sunk China into a blind alley. It has initiated reform as some East European countries are doing (the Soviet Union has also caught up with them). However, if the reform is only aimed at turning the small bird-cage economy into the big bird-cage economy, if China conducts only economic reform and not political reform, and if the political reform is not designed to extend democracy in the political field, then such reform may yield certain results, but I think it will not make our country and people prosperous as quickly as possible and will not close the gap with the capitalist developed countries. China is now building socialism with salient Chinese features, but it is encompassing with many contradictions in the economic, political and ideological fields, and those contradictions cannot be easily solved. Politically, how could the contradictions between the market economy and the planned economy be ironed out? Scientists have invented different kinds of all-purpose adhesive, but none of them could stick together the two types of economy (Fang smiled). I have been to East European countries five times (four times to Hungary and twice to Yugoslavia). Except Albania, I have been to all the East European countries. I have found all those countries have many contradictions and drawbacks in their economy, for example, production at times rises, at times falls; prices increase while wages are in relative decline; labor productivity is low; foreign investors always have trade deficit; they are under a heavy foreign debt, and the foreign exchange reserve is being slashed. In Yugoslavia, the free economy is brisk, but many problems cannot be solved. Hungary is practicing both the market economy and the planned economy, but it has failed to push its national economy forward. China is now trying to mix up the two types of economy, it can do at best as Hungary does. Is Hungary, then, a socialist country? Is it the socialist country as we desire for? I think not. The so-called socialist countries have more contradictions in the political sphere. The contradictions between the system of life tenure for one party (I do not know whether this term has ever been used by anyone)--lifelong tenure in office for the Communist Party--and the people's democracy can never be solved.

About 10 days ago, I read a news report about Bo Yibo's statement on the open policy. What he said is really absurd. He said that opening up exactly means introducing foreign investment funds and borrowing money from abroad, but he is afraid that other things such as Western culture, art and ideology will come into China along with foreign investment funds. This is an unsolvable contradiction. I think if reform is carried out in line with ossified concepts, it will be a blind alley forever. Finally, China can at most do only what Hungary can do, or what Hungary and Yugoslavia can do, and it is impossible for it to build an ideal country for all time. I do not oppose such reform, but I do not hold great expectations for it.

However, another kind of reform, which is to carry out reform thoroughly--the "total westernization" you appreciate, is the right way to follow. The "total westernization" you have described is aimed at opening to the outside world in all directions and inviting foreign impact upon the political, economic, cultural and art spheres. You have made a very important statement, saying:

"If old things are good, they should naturally be preserved; but if they are not good, they should be given up." I think this is quite right and it is a scientific way of bowing to the law of historical development. They all think over things in a subjective, lopsided, metaphysical and unscientific manner. Now Chen Duxiu has called to my mind. I think we should neither fully affirm nor completely write off this CPC first generation leader, who pointed out that the Chinese revolution should be launched in two steps--first the bourgeois revolution and then the socialist revolution. I think the view and proposition he entertained at that time were, in principle, correct. But his view of launching the Chinese revolution in two steps was later repudiated by Mao Zedong. However, the one-step theory he initiated of "accomplishing the whole task at one stroke" has been proved wrong because it is in contradiction to both the objective law of social development and the basic tenets of Marxism. China has decided to free itself from a blind alley and opening up to the outside world in all directions is indeed a good method. However, the communists do not allow total westernization. They have distorted your theory concerning "total westernization" and equated your view to Chen Xujing's theory of total westernization, which advocates that all things in China should be abandoned and all things foreign are good.

Fang: (smiled) Even a high-bridged nose is good.

Wen: I think your proposition of "opening up to the outside world in all directions" is unacceptable either to "revolutionaries of the elder generation" or to members of the third echelon. You have always said that there is no need to be driven to revolution by the barrel of a gun, have you not? I completely support favor peaceful evolution (Fang smiled). However, if you go a few steps forward, they will certainly ask you to stop and go backward because you touch on the revolution question. Of course, revolution may not be launched by the barrel of a gun.

Ming: For this the Polish trade union Solidarity has afforded a good example.

Fang: The question of the Polish trade union Solidarity should not be regarded in such a way. I have made the acquaintance of a Polish friend here. He often talked about the question with me. The question of Poland has mainly been affected by the Soviet Union. Without Soviet intervention, the political system would have changed quickly. Now underground publications in Poland cannot be banned because they are widespread and loved by the masses of people. We often say that there are no democratic [word indistinct] in China but there are in Poland.

Wen: When I visited Poland 2 years ago, a group of soldiers greeted me with the gesture of the trade union Solidarity in Warsaw. It can thus be seen that the Solidarity Movement has earned warm support of the people. I agree that if there were no Soviet intervention, Lech Walesa and his supporters (even their predecessors) would have won victory long ago. Not just in Poland, either. In Hungary, the grand reform movement led by Imre Nagy in 1956 also failed due to Soviet military intervention. Five years ago I met the Czech writer Tigeli [2748 2706 0448] who is now in exile in Paris. He told me that if there were no Soviet intervention, Czechoslovakia would have changed its system overnight.

On the Prospects for Reform

TO DEVELOP SCIENCE AND EXPAND PRODUCTION, CHINA MUST CARRY OUT REFORM. IF REFORM IS FOR THIS PURPOSE, THERE IS SIGNIFICANCE IN IT. I AM NOT SADLY DISAPPOINTED AT THE PROSPECTS FOR REFORM, THOUGH IT WILL CERTAINLY MEET WITH SETBACKS AND TAKE A LONG TIME. IF CHINA CAN MAKE THE REFORM A SUCCESS, ITS INFLUENCE IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN A REVOLUTION.

Fang: Mr Wen has just put forward the question that the reform will come to a stop. I think the word of reform appeared first in the West. The West has the religious reform advocated by Martin Luther, and the influence of the reform was not less than a revolution. The Renaissance then spread its influence in three aspects, and first was the influence of stepping toward democracy through science. I think this historical and religious reform is not less important than a revolution. We must really understand this religious reform and should not think that reform only means absorbing foreign investment funds. That reform was limited to religion, but its influence resulted in great changes in the concept and value of the whole society. Reviewing history, I think if we can do a good job in reform, its significance may be just the same as the religious reform conducted here more than 400 years ago. To develop science and industry, China must now carry out reform. If we understand the reform in such a way, there is significance of it and it may not come to a stop. I am not so pessimistic as Mr Wen. From a long-term historical point of view, only one step can probably be made in one stage, and particularly in China today.

Wen: Referring to the question of putting a stop to things that I have just mentioned, I do not mean that the people want to stop the reform. They always advocate reform. The problem is that persons in power will put a stop to the reform when it develops to a certain degree. Letting opening up to the outside world in all directions alone, even when the ideological area opened up a little to the outside world, they immediately brought it to a stop through the campaign of combating bourgeois liberalization. Over the past few years, the open policy has now been adopted, and then been retrenched.

Fang: The actual situation is so. I think relapses cannot be avoided. For example, John Calvin first favored the religious reform but then became very autocratic in Geneva and went too far and brought the reform to a stop. It is thus seen that reform takes time and must be carried out with a certain background.

Wen: That is right. It will probably take decades, or even longer, to solve the problem. Repeated relapses make us understand that we must devote a considerable length of time to the reform. Outwardly there is Soviet intervention in East Europe but there is not in China, problems in China are therefore not so complex as in East Europe. As a matter of fact, the intervention coming from China itself is more terrible than Soviet intervention. If Soviet tanks drive in, the Chinese can roll them back. But it is very difficult for them to strike back at intervention coming from their own land, including the autocratic system and secret police.

Ming: Professor Fang has just talked about the issue of intellectuals. From your speeches and statements, we can see that you believe intellectuals are the main force spurring the progress of history. However, intellectuals are small in number in China and they are not strong enough to become a social and economic force. Have you ever thought that intellectuals should unite with the workers in action?

On the Strength of Intellectuals

NOW INTELLECTUALS ARE ABLE TO KEEP SILENT AND NOT MAKE KNOWN THEIR POSITION ON EVERY ISSUE, AND THEIR THINKING IS INDEPENDENT. THEY ARE NOW NOTHING IN POLITICS AND THE ECONOMY, BUT THEY WILL GRADUALLY GROW INTO A FORCE AS THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND CHANGES. IF INTELLECTUALS BECAME INVOLVED IN THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT, THEIR FATE WOULD BE SERIOUSLY ENDANGERED.

Fang: I think I can hardly further explain what the main force [word indistinct] according to the concept in China, of course, I do not mean the concept is very strict, I think the main force means that they (intellectuals) can play an important role. I think the workers and peasants in China constitute the majority and we must be concerned with them. If we say intellectuals will grow into a force, it will grow slowly. However, some people are very afraid of intellectuals integrating with the workers and peasants. If intellectuals engineer a workers' movement, their fate will be seriously endangered.

Wen: I completely agree with your views on intellectuals. At present it is not workers and peasants but intellectuals who are the most progressive representatives of the development of the productive forces because they are the embodiment of science, technology, and knowledge and they represent the great and sophisticated productive forces of science and technology. Intellectuals are frantically hoping for reform and demand that the political reforms be carried out in pace with the economic reforms. It is very difficult for them to accomplish anything, but the present situation is in the end different from the past. They are not convinced--even more, they do not pretend to be convinced--of autocracy and the campaign of fighting bourgeois liberalization. In the past, they were not convinced but they had to pretend to be convinced of something with which they did not agree, but now they should not pretend to do so. It can be said that they have made progress and not a little progress. Of course, intellectuals should make new breakthroughs in the current reform, though they will meet with enormous difficulties.

Fang: I think they can do something. Mr Wen has just said that intellectuals were not convinced but they had to pretend to be convinced in the past. In fact, they were telling lies because they were compelled to make known their position on every issue. But now they are unwilling to tell lies any more, or it can be said that the Chinese now have freedom of keeping silent. In the past, they did not enjoy this freedom and were compelled to say something on all issues. During the Cultural Revolution, if one did not declare where one stood, one would be publicly denounced; when one declared where one stood, one had to say something. But now one can refuse to declare where one stands and keep silent.

Ming: This means that even if you were indifferent to politics in the past, you were not able to get rid of politics. But now you have freedom of showing indifference to politics.

Wen: Now there is freedom of keeping silent.

Fang: I have just said that the situation of intellectuals has somewhat improved. Now they can refuse to say anything, but those who see things with a keen eye still want to say something. For example, I am the one who wants to say something; so are some other people. Some intellectuals do not say anything, but their thinking is independent. They can now do nothing to politics and the economy, but they will grow into a force in society step by step as the social background changes. Not too many intellectuals in China now engage in business or run enterprises, but I think there will be more and more intellectuals who will do so, and particularly among the younger generation. I have found that they do not look down upon these jobs, and many of them are willing to do them. They will gradually grow into an independent force in the economic field of the country; then, the social background will also change. Today, the thinking of intellectuals is independent and they have freedom of keeping silent. Now they can do nothing in the economic field of the country, but they will become ever more independent in public opinion, thinking, and even in the economic field of our country. In my opinion, democratizing the life of the entire society is the inevitable course of history. Just as in the West, the so-called third stratum emerged from among the aristocrats were in fact a group of entrepreneurs. If a group of people become independent in the economic field of our country, they will be considered a significant factor.

Wen: However, when these entrepreneurs get rich to a certain degree, the situation will....

Fang: Just as the history of Europe shows, the third stratum was then not allowed to become prosperous (smiled), but when they got rich to a certain degree, it was difficult to stop them from doing so.

Wen: The appearance of the new bourgeoisie (not the bureaucratic bourgeoisie) will be good for and not harmful to China. By virtually reforming and changing the economic structure, the entrepreneur groups stemming from intellectuals will grow into a political and economic force, which will remove all obstacles to promote an advanced socialist democracy in China. Probably, they are the hope of China and the hope of freeing the country from an impasse. On the other hand, the Chinese people have awakened and will become further awakened. The age of allowing themselves to be ordered about will diminish; this provides a guarantee for the change of the destiny of China. From a long-term point of view, I am rather more optimistic than pessimistic.

Ming: In this course of expanding democracy, what role will the overseas organization "China Spring" play?

Fang: I do not agree with what "China Spring" has done. It engages in hand-to-hand conflict with the authorities.

Wen: Comparing your present statement with your previous speeches, I do not find any changes in your basic viewpoints. Is this correct?

On the Campaign of Fighting Bourgeois Liberalization and Toppling Hu

IN TERMS OF BOTH THE REFORMER AND THE CONSERVATIVE, TOPPLING HU IS WRONG. THE CAMPAIGN OF FIGHTING BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION HAS ALSO PLAYED A POSITIVE ROLE, THOROUGHLY DISCREDITING THE CONSERVATIVES. MEANWHILE, PEOPLE HAVE SEEN MORE CLEARLY THE ESSENCE OF THE SYSTEM AND ARE MORE DETERMINED TO REFORM IT. MY VIEWS REMAIN UNCHANGED, BUT I AM NOT AS OPTIMISTIC AS BEFORE.

Fang: In the past, I was too optimistic about the situation, but now I am not so. A few years ago, I said that the present situation in China had developed to the point that "the East wind is blowing and battle drums are rolling; now, no one is afraid of others," when actually it had not developed to such a point.

Wen: The fact that Hu Yaobang was driven from office was a great shock to people abroad. The old folks party has lost all popular sympathy both at home and abroad precisely because they ousted Hu from the office of party general secretary. When Hu Yaobang was in power, he was actually not a man of high prestige, but when he was ousted, his prestige was vastly enhanced. This shows that people are against the old folks party and the conservatives.

Fang: People at home and abroad hold a consensus view on the issue of Hu Yaobang. They first had many complaints about his invitation extended to 3,000 Japanese guests. Now, they still believe what he did is not correct, but they regard it as a trifle (smiled).

Wen: He has been forgiven.

Fang: Yes, it is so. This is a trifling matter, but on major political issues, he was still....

Wen: Did the top policy makers not know that overthrowing Hu Yaobang would weaken the reformers?

Fang: Yes. In terms of both the reformers and the conservatives, what has been done to Hu is wrong. We understand that the left, the middle, and the right all believe that what has been done is wrong (smiled).

Wen: The conservatives have not yet come to realize....

Fang: The conservatives are only a few. Those who have a few conservative ideas have also come to know that the matter has swept every bit of the conservatives into the dust.

Wen: The campaign of fighting bourgeois liberalization launched by the conservatives did not win any support from people at home and abroad. Obviously the campaign has made a great impact on the current reforms.

Fang: However, the campaign has played a positive role. It has made students see more clearly the essence of the system and understand that they should not be too optimistic. It has also strengthened the determination of the reformers to conduct the political reforms. Meanwhile, it has convinced those who were not very active in reform that it is now imperative to carry out reform.

Wen: Among the CPC reformers, no matter who they are, as long as they institute reform, both economic and political, we must support them even if they cannot carry it out thoroughly.

Fang: Yes, that is right.

Ming: Are you still a delegate to the Hefei City's people's congress.

Fang: No, I am not. The Election Law stipulates that if a delegate moves to another area, his credentials in the former area should be annulled.

Wen: After your departure from Hefei, students of the Chinese University of Science and Technology have all along missed you and they cherish deep affection for you.

Fang: I, too, have great affection for them.

Wen: The second issue of the journal DONG XIANG carried the report that the masses sent off and greeted you at railway stations. It has also been reported that you left Hefei for Beijing before they could see you off, and so far you have not returned to Hefei. I want to take this opportunity to confirm the report.

Fang: The report was a bit misconceived. At that time, students wanted to see me off, but I left earlier. Before the announcement was made, I was asked to go somewhere to attend a student meeting. After I went there, I was informed that I needed not return again to Hefei. Since then, I have not returned there. On that day, only Guan Weiyan went to Beijing, but my name also appeared on placards. Even Guan Weiyan failed to see me off. Guan bought a train ticket for me, but the authorities sent me to Bengbu by car and then I was taken to Beijing aboard a Hangzhou-Beijing train. Students wanted to send off both Guan Weiyan and myself, but neither of us were present. On that day, a large number of people crowded at the Beijing railway station in an attempt to greet both of us, but they were disappointed because they were misinformed about the train.

On the Movements of Mr and Mrs Fang Lizhi

MY WIFE IS MORE CAPABLE THAN I. IN 1958 SHE WAS LABELED AS A "RIGHTIST" BUT I WAS NOT. BOTH OF US WERE EXPELLED FROM THE PARTY. NOW, SHE REMAINS A PARTY MEMBER. I DO NOT WANT TO BE "SAKHAROV," BECAUSE HE IS ISOLATED, BUT I AM BESIEGED WITH LETTERS FROM ALL DIRECTIONS EVERY DAY. THE AUTHORITIES HAVE NOT

APPROVED MY ATTENDING A MEETING TO BE HELD IN BRITAIN. I WILL NOT LIVE ABROAD BECAUSE I AM NEEDED BY MY OWN LAND.

Ming: You must have known that your wife has been elected at Beijing University as a delegate to the people's congress. I think you must have also known that she did very well at a press conference in the presence of officials.

Fang: She has told me by a long-distance call.

Wen: (smiled) Her image is as bright as yours.

Fang: Yes, that is right. We were classmates. Even in school, she was more capable than I. That is why she was labeled as a rightist but I was not.

Ming: Has she phoned a message to you about the press conference?

Fang: Yes, I received a call from her.

Wen: She is the representative and banner of the Chinese advanced women. After she was labeled as a rightist, did she make any impact on you?

Fang: Yes. She was labeled as a rightist but I was not. However, both of us were expelled from the party. (Wen chipped in: Were you a rightist who was not labeled in name?) I was a rightist who was expelled from the party (smiled).

Ming: When did she cast off the label of a rightist?

Fang: The label was removed as early as in 1959. In 1979, both of us were reinstated as party members.

Wen: You have been driven from regular activities of the party organization for a time, but your wife is still a party member.

Fang: Yes, she is still a party member.

Wen: That is good (smiled). She can afford you convenience (Fang smiled).

Ming: Some foreigners call you "the Chinese Sakharov." What do you think of this?

Fang: I do not want to be Sakharov. He is isolated and is different from me. Since I was expelled from the party, I have received many letters from all directions and from different social strata. They all expressed to me....

Ming: If some overseas people asked you to live abroad....

Fang: No, I will not live abroad because I am needed by my own land.

Ming: Cambridge University has invited you to attend a "commemoration meeting of the 300th anniversary of unveiling Newton's theory of universal gravitation," as has California University. Have you accepted their invitation?

Fang: My request was not granted.

Wen: It is hoped that you will be able to visit other countries after your present trip.

Fang: (smiled).

Wen: You are the banner of China's most awakening intellectuals and the pride of our nation. I am convinced that you will continue to devote yourself to the cause of science and democracy. We are very grateful to you for allowing our interview with you at the present time of low political pressure. The interview has made us and overseas peoples know you better. You are a person of very strong character and you have not changed your correct views. Fang Lizhi is still Fang Lizhi. This has given overseas people great encouragement. On behalf of all staff of CHENG MING and DONG XIANG, I once again pay our sincere tribute to you and give our regards to Professor Li Shuxian. We express our heartfelt gratitude to you for your interview.

(The article has not been looked over by Professor Fang; I am responsible for all errors.—Ming Lei)

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ADULT EDUCATION TO STRESS VOCATIONAL TRAINING

OW101753 Beijing XINHUA in English 1345 GMT 10 Jul 87

[Text] Beijing, 10 July (XINHUA)--China will reform its adult education, said an official from the state Education Commission at a press conference today.

Adult education, mainly providing on-the-job workers with study opportunities to update their knowledge and skills, is part of China's education program and as important as the primary, vocational, technical, and higher education systems, said Zou Shiyan, vice-minister of the commission.

About 968,000 people have graduated from the 1,422 adult universities and colleges in the past 5 years and more than 1.2 million are at present in the program.

Instead of popularizing general knowledge, vocational and technical training has become the central task for adult education, according to a resolution on the reform and development of adult education proposed by the state Education Commission and newly approved by the State Council.

Adult education in the country side should combine adult literacy education with universal primary education and spreading scientific and technological knowledge.

According to the latest statistics, most of the 90 million illiterates under the age of 40 in China are in the countryside.

More and more Chinese technicians and scholars will have to upgrade their knowledge through adult education as China's modernization drive requires up-to-date knowledge, said the resolution centering on the role, conditions, reform and the development of adult education.

The post-college education program should also become an important part of adult education to broaden the new college graduates' knowledge of their specialties, the resolution said.

China has produced more than 300,000 college graduates every year since 1982, the vice minister said, adding that post-college education is a new avenue for producing highly professional personnel beyond the level of post-graduates.

The reform of adult education and the reform of the personnel, wage and employment systems must be carried out at the same time in order to avoid the tendency of studying only for the purpose of getting diplomas, said the vice-minister.

UNIVERSITIES PROMOTE INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGES

OW121656 Beijing XINHUA in English 1418 GMT 12 Jul 87

[Text] Shanghai, 12 July (XINHUA)--More than 270 higher-learning institutions in the Shanghai economic area have since 1979 established ties with hundreds of universities all over the world.

In Shanghai, universities and colleges have sent abroad 3,000 visiting scholars and postgraduate students over the past few years, while accepting more than 1,000 students from 77 countries and regions.

They have also invited 170 foreign experts, including noted nobel prize winners Chen Ning Yang and Tsung-dao Lee, as honorary professors.

Nanjing University and Johns Hopkins University in the United States have co-sponsored a Sino-American Cultural Research Center. The Center, which opened in September last year, will enroll 50 post-graduates from either country each year.

The University plans nine international academic forums in 1987 and 1988; and hundreds of foreign scholars have applied for the 25th International Coordination Chemistry Symposium.

Examine University, built by the late Overseas Chinese, Chen Chia-Keng (Tan Kah-kee) in 1921, established companies to import, develop and produce advanced materials, instruments and other equipment by use of its advantage in technology and quick access to information.

"My university will strive to be a major center for international cultural and technological exchanges, an inlet of foreign information and an example in management," said 60-year-old President Tian Zhaowu.

Through exchanges, many branches of learning and specialties, including micro-computers, computers, lasers, optical fiber communications, biological medicine engineering and oceanography have been added in these universities and colleges.

Since 1983, the Educational Department of Zhejiang Province has accepted 30 million U.S. dollars in assistance and loans to build Ningbo University.

The Chinese University of Science and Technology has entered into cooperation with Tokyo University. It newly built two labs and retooled a dozen original ones by use of the results developed in the cooperation.

The university's lab for calculating combustion has become the most advanced one in China after it imported computer software from a British science and engineering university.

The library of Fudan University joined an international federation and established exchange ties with 230 libraries in a dozen countries, including the United States, Britain, France and Japan.

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RENMIN RIBAO PRINTS 4 POEMS BY HU QIAOMU

HK290533 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jul 87 p 8

[Four poems by Hu Qiaomu written in "The Beginning of 1984": "'The Legend of Rainbow,' 'The Thing That Happened in the Date Orchard,' 'The Window,' and 'The Peach Blossom'"]

[Text] The Legend of Rainbow

In the past, there was no rainbow in the sky.

There was only the Helpless Bridge between the sky and the ground.

The Helpless Bridge was 3 inches wide and 34,000 meters high,
Under which there were serpents, wolves, tigers, and leopards.

Anyone who heard about the Helpless Bridge was frightened.

However, some fearless warriors,
chose to cross this mysterious and dangerous bridge.

They wanted to go to the sky,
Hearing that there was ever-green fragrant grassland and clean and fresh
air out there;

Hearing that the people in the sky know no oppression and worries,

But only work, learn, and create happily,

And have all the freedom to live, rest,

And the freedom to love, sing, and dance.

Thus, clever people said that the warriors were daydreaming.

Neighbors warned the warriors not to sacrifice their lives in vain.

Ah, the first warrior fell,
But the second warrior, the third warrior went on....
The weeping people on the ground saw such a miracle in the sky:
The fallen warriors fell not to the ground,
But became big and beautiful flowers.

One warrior after another,
One beautiful flower after another,
Covered more than half of the Helpless Bridge.
The strange flowers, tender but strong in life,
Never withered or died.
So, the bridge became wide and solid.
More people, men and women, old and young,
Came to the bridgehead and trod on the flowers,
Lined up and went forward.

Some of the people who had warned the warriors not to go up to the sky,
Also came to join the people.
The clever people remained silent because they wanted to wait and see.

Did any warriors reach the other end of the bridge?
No one could know at this time.
However, more news spread to the ground from the sky,
More people were advancing forward on the bridge.
People no longer called it the Helpless Bridge.
Look, the warriors were advancing in high spirits on the bridge.
Not yet reaching the other end of the bridge, the warriors already began
singing and dancing.
Finally the bridge, covered with fresh and beautiful flowers, which were the
soul of the forerunners,
Became today's rainbow linking the sky and the ground.

(The beginning of 1984)

The Thing That Happened in the Date Orchard

In the small village near the date orchard,
Today, all men went up to the mountains,
Only wives and girls,
Children, and old folks stayed behind.

Suddenly, laughter broke out.
People surrounded a swing stand.
First, women played on the swing,
Later, men also joined in.

Where did the men come from?
The men were PLA soldiers stationed nearby.
After playing on the swing for a while,
Men and women were still not satisfied.

Old folks say: Men and women should have a swing game!
The game reached its climax.
Men and women were sweating all over,
But none felt tired.

The harmonious rhythm of life,
Together with the swinging of the swing,
As it flew to the sky,
And continued flying forever.

What trust and intimacy!
Like brothers and sisters in a family,
As there is no difference between the military and the civilian,
And there is no taboo between the male and the female.

The beautiful genre painting scroll was so natural.
Gone forever, the nightmare of many years in the past!
Advance forward, the flowing spring in the deep valley!

Ah, if only the military and the civilian,
Men and women, could freely play on the swing face to face--
When will this day come?

(The beginning of 1984)

The Window

Just open the window, no need to travel a long distance,
You can see the sea shore splashed by the waves, the white clouds and the blue sky,
The buildings, the land, the road stretching far and wide,
Human brain and human hands create all the wonders in the world.
But you have the freedom to share weal and woe in this world; You can just
calmly sit in your own place,
Watching one group of puppets after another performing on the stage,
If you are interested, you can comment on the scripts and the performances.
A window that is open looks like a window that is closed, a man who exists
looks like a man who does not exist.
The world of mortals exists when shining on you; can it be of any other use?
The masses grovel at your feet because of your justice and wisdom.
Suddenly, you see a child falling down.
The vehicle is moving very fast; you jump out of your closed small attic.
You are still alive, just for the child,
But you dare to die!

(The beginning of 1984)

Peach Blossom

The peach blossom, withered, but its beauty not yet died away:
Still so attractive, the color, pattern, smell, and fragrance of the ripe
fruit!
The spring beauty of the mother still reverberates in the laughing and
jumping of her children.
Beauty was turned into love, which quietly dripped to the bottom of the heart,
The wind, rain, and sunshine could no longer be seen.

(The beginning of 1984)

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RENMIN RIBAO ON HAINAN ISLAND'S RESOURCES

HK151333 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jul 87 p 5

[Article by Tong Dalin (4547 1129 2651) and Dong Huanliang (5516 3562 0081): "Scientifically Develop Hainan Island's Superior Natural Resources Industry"]

[Text] Determine Targets of Development on the Basis of "Island Conditions"

Our country has a vast area and rich resources. However, various parts of the country show an extremely unbalanced state as far as the distribution of natural resources and the economic levels of development of concerned. Each is superior in its own way and has its own features. In line with the principle of "the idea of dividing up work on a regional basis," emphasis must vary in the economic development of different areas. The aim is to achieve relatively good regional economic results and overall economic results at a relatively small cost. The development of Hainan Island should be based on the national program of dividing up work regionally and on the fundamental "conditions" of the treasure island. The targets of development should be based on where we can make the most of the strong points and develop relevant superior features.

What are the fundamental conditions of Hainan Island? As the motherland's second largest island, Hainan Island has peculiar natural and economic conditions that set it apart from many other regions (including Taiwan).

The country has only 50,000 square km of wet tropical climate area, which is chiefly distributed over Hainan Island (with Xishuangbanna accounting for part of it). Here the climate is warm and hot, and rainfall abundant. It is free from snowfall the year round. It is good for the cultivation of rubber plants, coconuts, oil palms, and other tropical crops and of arecas, yi-zhi (4135 2535), and other medicinal herbs known in the south. In the depth of winter in the north, here various kinds of non-seasonal melons and vegetables (melons and vegetables available in markets in the north only in summer) can be grown. Therefore, hainan island is called "China's big hothouse." According to statistics, the island has more than 4,200 kinds of various plants, over 500 of which are special varieties.

--The coastline of the island is 1, 584.8 km long. In the sea surrounding the island are more than 800 varieties of fish, shrimps, shellfish, aquatic plants, and the like, over 40 of which possess relatively great economic

value. Grouper, Spanish mackerel, mei-hua-can [2734 5363 0639], lobster, da-zhu-mu [1129 3796 3018], shellfish, qi-lin-cai [7784 7792 5475], and so forth are all well-known cherished varieties.

--Hainan Island has a congenial climate. It is like spring all the four seasons. It has the so-called "five great elements" of sunshine, sea water, beach, greenery and clean air that make a perfect tourist area. The island has 123 tourist sites that can be visited by tourists, including well-known mountains and streams, places of historic interest and scenic beauty, Li villages, and Miao camps. Well-known beaches include Dadonghai, Xiaodonghai, Yalongwan, and so forth. All are good places for sunbathing, "with water so clean that a person can see the bottom and with sand white as silver." They are our country's most beautiful vacation places to escape the cold in winter. Especially Yalongwan, lying east of Sanya City, has the reputation of "being not like Hawaii but excelling Hawaii." Many tourists from abroad have praised the blue sea area of Yalongwan as being "more beautiful than any place we have ever been!"

These are the natural superior features of Hainan Island. These fundamental conditions of the island determine that Hainan Island should take the scientific development of the treasure island's agriculture and tourist trade as the targets of economic development. There is no need to follow the precedent of other areas focusing on the development of traditional industries. We should not rush for profits and neglect what is important, destroying a cherished piece of land that has so far not suffered the harm of random development. Hawaii of the United States knows of no industries other than a limited number of food and toy industries. It is well-known for its tropical fruits and as a place for tourists and for recuperation. Now, it seems that Hainan Island should develop two major resources-related industries--agriculture (including forestry, animal breeding, fishery, and so forth) and tourism. Speaking in graphic terms, we may build Hainan island as "a big world farm" and "a big world park" in the world." To this end, we must accelerate the modernization of agriculture and tourism. We must especially draw on high technology (such as biotechnology) to reform traditional agriculture and use scientific management means to operate the tourist trade. Meanwhile, centering on two major resources-related industries, we should develop a series of processing industries, manufacturing industry, service industry, and activities in the cultural, artistic, medical, physical education, and recreational fields. All fundamental facilities (transportation, telecommunications, energy, construction, city layout, and so forth) must be subordinated to the development of these two major resources-related industries, in order to bring about modernized agriculture and modernized tourist trade and enable China's agriculture and tourist trade to shine forth.

Agriculture and Tourism Have Great Potential Where Superior Features Are Concerned

Hainan island's agricultural composition underwent great changes during the Sixth 5-Year Plan. The area sown with food crops was reduced from 8.63

million mu to 7.62 million mu. The area planted with tropical economic crops rose from 4.49 million mu to 7.17 million mu. Given an increase in per-mu output of grain crops, this reduction and increase helped in developing resources as superior features and increasing total income from agriculture. But judging from the situation as a whole, there remains great potential in the development of Hainan Island's tropical economic crops. First, the cultivated area can be increased. Take coffee, cocoa, and tea for example. The area of land of the whole island good for growing coffee, cocoa, and tea crops are respectively 20,000 hectares, 3,300 hectares, and 12,000 hectares. But at present, the developed shares of land are respectively 1,666 hectares, 0.6 hectares and 6,982 hectares. Second, varieties remain to be improved upon. Per-mu cashew output is now 5 kilograms. International per-mu yield of fine species can reach more than 20 kilograms. Third, farmland irrigation facilities and facilities for resisting windstorms and other calamities are badly in need of being perfected. At present, the area of farmland that can still be assured of harvests in spite of floods, drought, and windstorms accounts for only around 38 percent of all the cultivated farmland. In 1985, Hainan Island's total exports stood at \$81.13 million, less than 0.3 percent of the country's total annual exports. Raising in a big way yields from tropical economic crops (including foreign exchange earnings) is an important task in the scientific development of Hainan Island's agricultural resources.

We know that the Philippines is a world-famous paddy-growing base. Our country's Taiwan Province is also a base for growing vegetables of the world. Hainan Island has abundant resources in tropical crops. Also, due to the absence of extremely low temperatures in winter, sufficient sunshine, abundant rainfall, and congenial soil, it is good for the growing of most crop varieties of tropical and subtropical areas all year round. Therefore, all the conditions exist for its being developed into a comprehensive seed-breeding base. Take Sanya City, already called "a big vegetable farm in a remote corner of the world" for example. In recent years, more than 100 varieties of non-seasonal melons and vegetables like pumpkins, white gourds, cucumbers, towel gourds, xi-hong (6007 4767)?, persimmons, onions, and so forth have been successfully bred. When the north is in the depth of winter, abundant yields of melons and vegetables from the treasure island are carried in cars and ship to northeast China, north China, and other areas. Around the Spring Festival every year, 2,000 or 3,000 tons of melons and vegetables are hauled to Hong Kong. Take flowers, for a further example. The island abounds in wild-growing flowers. It has not only varieties of leaves, flowers, and fruits for viewing but also varieties that attract people with their particular shapes and fragrant smells. There are also species good for potted landscape. Artificially cultivated flowers and plants show such features as growing more quickly and luxuriantly than those in various parts of the mainland. If made into a base for the cultivation of flowers and plants and for potted landscape, then the island can derive very attractive economic results. How should we translate the potential superior features of Hainan Island as a seed-breeding base into reality? How can we have all the strange and wonderful varieties of flowers and plants and the best species of melons and fruits concentrated on the treasure island? This problem can be solved only by concentrating wisdom in various fields (including the introduction of the latest products of scientific research).

Along the coast of Hainan Island are four big fishing grounds and 26,000 hectares of seashore area. But most of the shoals have not been used for offshore breeding purposes. In 1985, output value from aquatic products reached 156 million yuan, which accounted for only 5 percent of total agricultural output value. By using low-water sea areas and shoals, there is great particular potential to be tapped in breeding, raising, and catching groupers, prawns, and various valuable varieties of fish, shrimps, shellfish, and aquatic products that can fetch great amounts of foreign exchange in the world market.

Similarly, the potential for developing Hainan Island's tourism is also far from being tapped to the full. True, just as mentioned above, Hainan island is blessed with unique tourist resources. It is therefore defined as one of the important areas to be developed for tourists by the state during the Seventh 5-Year Plan. But generally speaking, Hainan Island's tourism industry is only in the period of "dawn." According to statistics, the island in 1985 witnessed 903 visits by tourists from abroad and 31,000 visits by members of tourist groups from Hong Kong and Macao, with a total of 32,000 visits. It should be said that this is a small figure. The island's tourist resources (including natural resources, human resources, hot springs, and so forth) comprise as many as 123 sites. But only five sites--the Yingge Ridge of Wuzhishan, Yalongwan, the tropical forest reserve of Jianfengling, the deer reserve of Dongfangpo, and the Chang-bi [7022 5242 long-arm] monkey reserve of Changjiang--meet the class-A tourist standard, with independent international attraction (based on the popular international tourism assessment standard). Furthermore, only 37 tourist sites meet the class-B standard, with a capacity to satisfy international viewing and appreciation requirements. Since 1985, the average number of days spent by international tourists on sightseeing trips in Hainan has reached only 8.2 days. Ninety percent of them have stayed 5 days. This shows in a way that it is a matter of great urgency to increase the comprehensive tourist value of tourist sites and link up various tourist sites of value.

In the past 30 years, world tourism has grown rapidly. According to a forecast by a world tourist organization, by the year 2,000, total international tourist consumption will rise from \$100 billion at present to \$500 billion. Tourism has in some countries ranked as the pillar industry of primary importance. Some people predict that by the early part of the next century, it will take the pace of steel and oil as the largest industry in the world. Hainan Island is fully equipped to join the world contest in the tourist field. We should profit by the useful international experience of combining the development of natural views and human views and scientifically arrange the itinerary for tourists to make their trip rewarding and colorful. We should improve on road works and hotel and service facilities, so that the tourists can feel at home and enjoy every convenience in their activity. We should provide all tourist data and commodities that should be available, satisfying tourists' spiritual and material needs. We should also train a large number of qualified tourist guides and managers and hotel service personnel, providing high-quality service.

We Must Pay Great Attention to the Protection of Resources and the Use of Talent

To scientifically develop Hainan Island's resources in agriculture and tourism, we must pay extremely great attention to and properly handle the protection of resources. At present, the island has only 100,000 hectares of land left for reserves. Here grow a great multitude of rare and valuable varieties of tropical crops. Here are also the best of places for tourists to relish views and have "saunas." They must be seriously protected. In no way can we repeat the previous slash-and-burn cultivation practice of felling trees at random. Up to 1985, Hainan's forest cover accounted for only 16.6 percent of its whole area, only 8.9 percent covered with natural forests. We believe that after 13 years of effort, the restoration of the islands' forest cover to over 40 percent is not only necessary but also possible.

Of course, certain mineral resources peculiar to Hainan Island can be developed. But we should also try to avoid developing industries that pollute the environment. It is only appropriate that we should stress in a limited way the development of the processing of agricultural products and other industries serving tourism. In developing even these industries, we must also pay great attention to environmental protection. Otherwise, endless harm will be done. According to a survey by a relevant department, the quality of the water of the island's five big rivers and four large reservoirs is good. Sulphur dioxide and nitrogen oxide contents are also below specified standards. But this does not mean that no problem exists in regard to environmental protection. Leaving alone what is far away, several cases of partial pollution in the past 2 years alone have taken place, causing the death of fish and shrimps in large numbers and the near extinction of various rare and valuable varieties of plants, such as po-lei [0980 1093], zi-jing [1311 0070], cu-fei [4723 2833], and so forth. Punishment from nature is ruthless. It calls on us to realistically strengthen rule by law, seriously penalizing and dealing with those who pollute the environment. Meanwhile, more important, we must put emphasis on prevention, resolutely and decisively eliminating various sources of pollution. Only in this way can we enable Hainan Island to remain ever green in its mountains and ever blue in its waters, creating basic conditions for the development of agriculture and tourism.

What is lacking at present in developing Hainan Island's resources in agriculture and tourism? Comparatively speaking, what is most badly needed is talent. For more than 30 years, the South China Tropical Crops College and the South China Tropical Crops Institute of Scientific Research in Dan County have done a large amount of scientific research work in the agricultural field. From 1978 to 1985 alone, more than 290 products of scientific research were turned out, several of them ranking first in the world. But judging from the situation as a whole, there is still quite a big gap between scientific research in the agricultural field and the needs of economic construction. Research in tourism is only in its initial stage. Since liberation, the state has assigned large numbers of scientific and technical personnel to Hainan.

It is said that of these people, only 20 percent are now still left on the island. Of course, with the development of Hainan and its heading for prosperity in the days ahead, such a situation will gradually change. Up to the present, about 2,000 specialized personnel of various provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central authorities with the exception of Xizang and Taiwan have volunteered to head for Hainan to participate in construction. This undoubtedly carries great significance in hainan's economic development. We must adopt certain particular policies to arouse their enthusiasm and creativity. Hainan Island is still an important hometown of Overseas Chinese, with connections with approximately 1.7 million-odd overseas Chinese, descendants of Overseas Chinese, and Hong Kong and Macao compatriots away from it. Of the existing population of 5.89 million on the island, there are more than 1 million returned overseas Chinese and dependents of Overseas Chinese. If we arouse the "natives of Hainan" at home and abroad to act as one in support of Hainan Island, there will inevitably be an effective increase in skilled personnel, technology, and funds urgently needed in developing agriculture and tourism. This will give a tremendous boost to the revitalization of Hainan Island.

Hainan Island should become the brightest, most clean, and most gorgeous land of happiness.

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CSO: 4006/838

YUNNAN GOVERNOR DISCUSSES ECONOMIC TASKS

HK030201 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 2 Jul 87

[Excerpts] The provincial government held a plenary meeting in Kunming today. Vice Governor Zhu Kui presided. Governor He Zhiqiang delivered an important speech.

He Zhiqiang said: The province recorded all-round growth from January to May in total industrial output, grain output, foreign exchange earnings from exports, and total income of townships and town enterprises.

He said: Although great progresses was made in work in the first half of the year, we are currently facing many difficulties and problems. The outstanding one is the serious drought. Heavy floods may also occur in July, August, or September. The task of fulfilling this year's agricultural production plans, especially for grain and cured tobacco, is very arduous. In industry, although economic results have improved, the indicators for quality and input consumption have not met the demands of the plan. The number of enterprises running at loss and the total losses have increased.

He Zhiqiang said: The general demand for the second half of the year is to deepen the struggle against bourgeois liberalization, continue to deepen the double increase and double economy drive, deepen the reforms, and ensure the fulfillment and overfulfillment of all tasks for this year. The following tasks should be grasped well during the period:

1. Regard precautions and combat against natural calamities as a major task. We must first do a good job in precautions against floods.
2. Do everything possible to reap a bumper harvest in agriculture. We must further firm up measures for achieving the grain production target of 20 billion jin. We must also get a good grasp of cured tobacco production.
3. Continue to maintain steady growth in industrial production.
4. Make good preparations for next year's production and construction.
5. Resolutely oppose bureaucratism and do all work still better.

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CSO: 4006/838

PRC TO IMPROVE RAILROAD NETWORKS IN EAST CHINA

HK030700 Hong Kong ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 0620 GMT 256 Jun 87

[Text] Shanghai, 26 June (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--A giant project aimed at perfecting east China's railroad networks has been unveiled. The Ministry of Railways recently completed the formulation and examination of a plan for organizing the construction work of this project.

According to the available information, the project contains 17 large and medium-sized construction items and more than 10 technological transformation items and requires a total investment of 7 billion yuan.

This project comprises five subsystemic projects: Two passageways from North to south, two passageways from east to west, and the subsystemic project to carry out the electrification and transformation of the Yingtan-Xiamen railway. The scales, items, investments, and time limits for all the subsystemic projects have already been determined.

The first passageway from north to south is the Xuzhou-Nanjing-Shanghai railway, with the emphasis on expanding the handling capacity of Fuliji, Nanjing, and Shanghai. The Fuliji railway overpass, which is under construction, will be open to traffic on 1 April 1988. By then, the largest restrictive railway intersection in east China will have its restrictions relaxed. The building of the new shanghai passenger train station can be completed and put into operation within this year. This new station will greatly improve Shanghai's passenger train service. In addition, the medium modernization project for the Beijing-Shanghai railway, which is the focus of people's attention, will be completed before 1995. When this project is completed, the Beijing-Shanghai railway's passenger trains can be increased from the current 30 pairs [due 1417] to 50 pairs, the passenger trains's highest speed can reach 140 km per hour, and the Beijing-Shanghai railway passengers will be able to "start at dawn and arrive at dusk."

The second passageway from east to west is the Shanghai-Hangzhou-Zhuzhou railway. Due to restrictions on financial resources, prior to 1990, multiple tracks can only be laid in these key junctions where transport service is in great demand. At present, 35 km of multiple tracks have been laid for the Shanghai-Hangzhou railway during the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

The second passageway from east to west is the Wuchang-Shahejie-Xiangxi railway, with the emphasis on transforming the old railway line between

Xiangxi and Shahejie and building the new railway line between Shahejie and Daye. This is aimed at opening a new passageway leading to the southwest region for the railroad networks in east China.

The Yingtan-Xiamen railway's electrification and transformation project is being carried out by stages. China also plans to build the Tianhusan feeder railway line between Zhangping and Quanzhou. This will play an important role in promoting economic development in Fujian's southern delta region including Zhangzhou, Xiamen, and Quanzhou.

In addition, the Jiujiang-Changjiang bridge construction project and the Xuzhou railway control project will also be carried out in the near future.

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CSO: 4006/838

BRIEFS

TANKER FOR CHILE--Beijing (CEI)--China is building a 62,000-DWT tanker for Chile. A contract to this effect has been signed between the Shanghai Shipbuilding Corporation, the East Shanghai Shipyard, of the China Shipbuilding Corporation and a Chilean shipping corporation in Santiago. This is the first time for a Chinese ship to be sold to a South American country. Meanwhile, the China Shipbuilding Corporation signed contracts in the first half of this year to build eight ships, totaling 200,000 DWT, for export. Since 1980, the China Shipbuilding Corporation has signed contracts with foreign clients to build ships totaling 1.7 million DWT of which ships totaling 1.1 million DWT have already been delivered to buyers. These ships, up to the standards set by various international ship registration agencies and international conventions, have won reputations internationally for their high quality and advanced technology. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0614 GMT 20 Jul 87 OW] /12232

CSO: 4006/838

RESEARCH OF CHINA'S EDUCATIONAL SCIENCE PLANNED

OW160843 Beijing XINHUA in English 0555 GMT 16 Jul 87

[Text] Beidaihe July 16 (XINHUA)--Research on China's education system will be aimed at solving problems in educational development and in the current educational reform, said a top official at a national meeting on educational research which closed here Wednesday.

Zhang Jian, vice-president of the Education Society of China, said that key research items during the Seventh 5-Year Plan period (1986-1990) will cover the practice and development of Marxist educational theories in China, educational reform, basic educational theories in China, educational reform, basic educational theories as well as the history of education after the founding of new China in 1949 and the education in the liberated areas preceding the founding of new China.

The research efforts should be laid mainly on the research of the applied subjects so as to gradually gear the research on education to the country's practical need, said He Dongchang, vice-minister of the State Education Commission.

Special attention should be paid to improving the education of the rural population accounting for 80 percent of the country's total, the two education officials stressed.

According to Zhang Jian, the research will cover the current reform of educational organizations, educational content, system and teaching methods.

He expressed the hope that China will have worked out a comprehensive plan for the systematic reform of education by the end of this century.

He Dongchang said that the research of urban education should center on solving the problem that each school has its own teaching method and the lack of cooperation among schools.

China's schools of higher learning now have set up 300 education research institutions with 3,000 full-time and part-time researchers.

During the Sixth 5-Year Plan period (1981-1985), China completed most of its 36 key research items in education.

Zhang said that nearly 900 research items for the Seventh 5-Year Plan period (1986-1990) are being or will be carried out by schools and research institutions with the financial help of central and local governments and relevant departments.

NGAPOI TELLS TIBETANS RELIGION CANNOT HINDER ECONOMY

0W091559 Beijing XINHUA in English 1446 GMT 9 Jul 87

[XINHUA headline: "Religious Believers Urged To Contribute to Country's Economic Development"]

[Text] Lhasa, July 9 (XINHUA)--Freedom of religious belief should not be taken as an excuse to interfere with economic development, Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, said here today.

He said this on the ground that some people in the Gando Prefecture in Tibet had tried to stop mining in mountains which they claimed to be divine.

"Mining helps increase the country's revenue and people's income, and no interference in economic development is allowed on the pretext of religious freedom," Nagpoi told the closing meeting of the Fifth Session of the Fourth Tibet Autonomous Regional Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

"We should tell our people of the need to expand production and diversify businesses while conducting normal religious activities," Ngapoi said.

He also called for implanting ideas of commodity economy in the minds of the Tibetans and educating them in using science to achieve prosperity.

The state has allocated large sums of money to restore monasteries damaged during the "Cultural Revolution" (1966-1976). "But it will be impossible to restore them all," he said.

Reiterating the policy toward overseas Tibetans, Ngapoi said they should be equally treated whenever they return to contribute to Tibet's development.

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CSO: 40000115

NPC'S BANQEN URGES TIBETAN UNITY WITH OTHER GROUPS

OW091632 Beijing XINHUA in English 1517 GMT 9 Jul 87

[Text] Lhasa, July 9 (XINHUA)--The unity between cadres of Tibetan and other nationalities, especially cadres of the Han, is indispensable for the development of the Tibet Autonomous Region, a local meeting here was told today.

"We Tibetan cadres should do our best to enable retired Han cadres to spend their remaining years here as happily as possible because they have made great contributions to the region's development," said Banqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyancan, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, at a closing meeting of the Fifth Session of Tibet's Fourth People's Congress.

"We should also take care of the Han cadres and workers who are now still working here and help solve their problems," Banqen added.

The Han cadres working in Tibet should, first of all, help Tibetan people to fully exercise their rights of national autonomy and national equality, and they should serve the Tibetan people wholeheartedly, Banqen said.

He said that in Tibet, where the Tibetan population amounts to 95 percent of the total, attention should also be paid to unity between Tibetans and other ethnic groups.

"We should help solve their problems," he said, adding that "only by so doing can national unity be achieved and joint efforts made for Tibet's prosperity.

"Every nationality has its own customs and we should show respect for each other's customs," Banqen said.

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NORTH REGION

REGIONAL

QINGHUA UNIVERSITY REFORMS GRADUATE SCHOOL SYSTEM

OW191033 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0132 GMT 18 Jul 87

[By reporter Zhang Baorui]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 18 Jul (XINHUA)--Qinghua University's reform program of "reserving space for graduate students" has been proved to be effective. Recently a dozen or so graduates have returned to study at the university's graduate school after undergoing training at grassroots units for 2 years.

Most of the students attending the university's graduate school are graduates of the university's undergraduate departments. While they lack actual working experience and are politically immature and incapable of analyzing and solving practical problems, well-trained personnel are badly needed by the four modernizations. The university has decided that if a student qualified to study at the university's graduate school chooses to work at a production or designing unit or in remote areas before attending graduate school, the university will reserve a space for him at the graduate school for a period of 2 to 5 years. Over the past 2 years, nearly 200 students, including 2 doctorate candidates, have participated in the program.

Qinghua University is presently taking measures to set up more bases where newly graduated students can undergo practical training. The university hopes that by sending graduated students to work at these bases it can maintain a constant flow of personnel and that the university will be able to train professionally more competent personnel by working with various production and research units.

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CSO: 4005/887

TAIWAN

TAIWAN: EXECUTIVE YUAN ORGANIC LAW TO BE REVISED

OW310529 Taipei CNA in English 0232 GMT 31 Jul 87

[Text] Taipei, July 31 (CNA)--Premier Yu Kuo-hwa said Thursday that as the nation continues its march towards a new era that will require the government to be more efficient in dealing with ever more complicated administrative affairs, it is necessary to update the organic law of the Executive Yuan.

Presiding over a cabinet meeting, Premier Yu recalled that the organic law of the Executive Yuan had been revised six times since it was enacted in March 1947, and that it has been 17 years since its last revision in 1970.

He noted that during these 17 years, the Republic of China has undergone rapid development and the Executive Yuan has established 11 more agencies under its direct jurisdiction, including the soon to be formed Labor Council and the Environmental Protection Administration.

Premier Yu appointed Vice Premier Lien Chan to lead a special committee of ministers without portfolio and scholars to thoroughly study the current organic law. The special committee will present its opinions and suggestions to the cabinet for further deliberation within six months.

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CSO: 40050898

COMMENTARY ON ISSUE OF DIRECT ELECTIONS

HK169415 Hong Kong ZHONOCUO TONGXUN SHE in Chinese 0940 GMT 15 Jul 87

[Commentary by Qi Ming (7871 4842): "Division Between District Board Members Gives One Much Food for Thought"--ZHONOCUO TONGXUN SHE headline]

[Text] The Hong Kong newspaper MINGPAO yesterday disclosed in an editorial that it had conducted a special survey in which it "had, quite unexpectedly, discovered a worrying phenomenon--almost all district boards are annoyed by internal divisions and confrontation." Such a phenomenon gives one much food for thought.

The editorial also said: "Members of these district boards have not only confronted each other recently regarding the issue of 'introduction of direct election in 1988' but have also disputed with each other on many other issues in the past." "Both confronting factions have tried to increase their own force. While trying to win neutral district board members over to their side, they usually build up their force by ensuring that candidates of their own factions or those supporting their own factions will be elected in the district board election."

If the above phenomenon remains and deteriorates, it is bound to have unfavorable effect on the interests of Hong Kong as a whole.

Section 3 of Chapter 1 of the "Green Paper: The 1987 Review of Development in Representative Government" published by the Hong Kong Government said: "The contents of this Green Paper encompass: a) a general review of the way in which the system of government has developed so far at the district, regional, and central government levels; b) an assessment of the developments since the publication of the 1984 White Paper and of the public response to them...."

The 1987 Green Paper did not touch the above-mentioned phenomenon within district boards. But, according to Chapter 1 of the Green Paper, problems arising from district boards will also be dealt with during the current review of Hong Kong's political system.

Why are most all the 19 district boards in Hong Kong bothered by divisions and confrontation and how will this problem be solved? This question should indeed draw the close attention of all circles.

When the composition of the Legislative Council and the procedures for election of Legco members are evaluated, attention should be paid particularly to avoiding divisions and confrontation within the Legislative Council in the future development of Hong Kong's political system. The situation will be "serious indeed" if split and confrontation take place in the Legislative Council. Sir S.Y. Chung recently remarked: "One of the major contributing factors for the success of Hong Kong today is that Hong Kong has an efficient, stable government with conspicuous achievements." If splits and confrontation take place in the Legislative Council, the efficiency, achievements, and stability of the Hong Kong Government will be impaired, investors' confidence in Hong Kong will decrease, and it will be doubtful whether Hong Kong can remain as successful in the future as it is today.

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CSO: 4005/892

PRC, UK DISPUTE OVER GREEN PAPER VIEWED

HK171005 Hong Kong CHING PAO in chinese No 7, 10 Jul 87 pp 6-11

[Article by Ku Hsing-hui (0657 2502 6540): "Inside Story of the Trail of Strength Between China and Britain Over the Green Paper"--first two paragraphs are CHING PAO introduction]

[text] It has been reported that David Ford and John Chan gave a press briefing to the reporters of foreign agencies in Hong Kong and local English and Chinese newspapers respectively on the afternoon of 19 June. Ford said: "Introduction of direct elections in 1988 does not run counter to the spirit of the Joint Declaration. It is the will of the majority of the people to introduce direct elections." The Hong Kong Government will continue its efforts in light of "popular will." He continued: "The Hong Kong Government will clearly state its position on direct elections to the residents. On public occasions, however, it would be inappropriate to openly guide the residents to support direct elections. We should not let the Chinese side find any excuse for censure."

Many people have asked: Why did Ford impatiently withdraw his assurances on "having no definite opinions on reform of the government system" and "truly listening to public opinion and making no attempt to guide public opinion."

Following the issuance of the Green Paper on Review of Developments in Representative Government on 27 May, the Hong Kong Government repeatedly asserted that no conclusion has been reached, the government is not tendentious, it will not guide public opinion, and reform of the government system will be carried out in light of "public opinion." By standing aloof as a third party, it will be advantageous to the Survey Office, which serves as a judge, to exercise control over the direction of the representative government.

The True Situation of Public Opinion Poll Conducted by English Newspapers

The government believed that it could get the expected "public opinion" and go through the 1988 direct elections without undertaking any responsibility at all.

However, industrial and commercial circles and a number of organizations in Hong Kong launched mammoth offensives in the public opinion war. The quick

action, strict measures, and large numbers of people involved threw the "1988 direct elections factions" into the shade.

The "1988 direct elections faction" did not get support from the social organizations which had a mass basis. They claimed that according to a public opinion poll conducted by English newspapers, 73 percent of the "residents" were in favor, and only 4 percent were against direct elections. When Martin Lee publicized this argument saying that "only a handful of people are against 1988 direct elections" however, he was immediately refuted by Liang Chen-ying of the Basic Law Consultative Committee. Liang Chen-ying was also interviewed in the public opinion poll conducted by English newspapers. As the investigator did not clearly state the actual date of direct elections, Liang was not against the issue. Instead of hastily introducing direct elections in 1988, Liang preferred direct elections to be carried out in 1992. Like Liang, large numbers of people preferred direct elections to be introduced after the drafting of the basic law. However, they were included in the 73 percent who were in favor of direct elections in 1988. Only 632 persons were investigated in the survey conducted by English newspapers. Therefore, it is not true for Mr Lee to say that 73 percent of the Hong Kong residents (4.38 million) are in favor of direct elections.

Chief Secretary Ford expected that at least 50 percent of the public would support 1988 direct elections. Owing to the good traditional relations between the established organizations and the government, he believed that those supporting 1988 direct elections would be in the majority. To his surprise, Mr. Ydesdale of the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce, Lawrence Mills of the Chinese Manufacturers' Association of Hong Kong and the Federation of Hong Kong Industries, Heung Yik Kuk, and neighborhood committees were all against 1988 direct elections. In the past, the leftist trade unions did not coordinate with the chambers of commerce representing the capitalist side. On this occasion, however, the trade unions and chambers of commerce opposed 1988 direct elections in unison. The trade unions said: "If the capitalists are frightened away, the workers will starve." This shows that a good beginning has been made in consultation and conversation between the industrial and commercial circles and the working class on political issues.

Even the institutional faction within the Executive and Legislative Councils was against abrupt changes. Some people directly or indirectly echoed and supported the concerted action of the chambers of commerce and the pro-Chinese organizations. S.Y. Chung made another statement on 25 June, stressing that Hong Kong's future government system should be determined by the basic law. This reflected the tendency of the institutional faction. Obviously, many people are worried about the negative effects of 1988 direct elections on the stable political situation and economic prosperity. As the basic law is to be promulgated in 1990, many people in commercial circles have realized that if 1988 direct elections cannot converge with the basic law, it will lead to political turbulence. For this reason, direct confrontation between China and Britain is disadvantageous to the investment climate in Hong Kong and to the smooth transition.

Ford Declares Intention of the Hong Kong Government

On 14 June, Ford expressed his views on 1988 direct elections in the "News Analysis" column of ASIAWEEK: "The basic law will have a broad framework, but is unlikely to go into great detail on, for example, composition of the Legislative Council," "in terms of the development of the government towards a directly elected or partly directly elected system, if that is what the Hong Kong people want then I do not believe it could be described as a major constitutional change," "Mr Li Hou has just said that China will take into account the views reflected in the Green Paper exercise that is now taking place in Hong Kong. There is no reason to believe that the various soundings of public opinion should not come to the same conclusion about the wishes of the Hong Kong people with regard to the future. Therefore, I do not see that there should be a problem of convergence on this particular issue."

These remarks definitely guided public opinion to support direct elections, clearly indicated the intention of the Hong Kong Government concerning reform of the government system, distorted Li Hou's position on the question of convergence and the representative government, and regarded the stipulations of the basic law on election of the Legislative Council as an affair that can be considered and decided by the representative government.

These remarks are a prelude to the deployment of psychological warfare tactics and a "trial balloon."

If the officials of the Chinese side do not clarify their position on the question of convergence, the British side can tell the residents that 1988 direct elections will not lead to turbulence because the Chinese side has given tacit consent to 1988 direct elections and "natural convergence." If the Chinese side clarifies Ford's remarks, the British side can immediately stir up a denunciation warfare rejecting the Communist Party because China has meddled in the administration and internal affairs of Hong Kong and suppressed the demand of the majority of the Hong Kong people for 1988 direct elections.

On 18 June, a certain Hong Kong newspaper carried a "news" item which disclosed that the Hong Kong Government intends to propose to the Chinese side that the following be included in the White Paper to be published in January next year so as to eliminate the differences between China and Britain on direct elections: Direct election of the Legislative Council in 1988 has been consulted by both China and Britain and has obtained consent of the Chinese side. According to the Hong Kong Government, since the Chinese side has agreed to direct elections of Hong Kong's legislature after 1997, in other words, it essentially accepts direct elections. The Chinese side has opposed 1998 direct elections for the sake of "saving its face." As China and Britain have signed the Joint Declaration, both sides should make concession and there should not exist the question of "saving face."

Since the question has been posed, it seems that China must give an answer.

As expected XINHUA NEWS AGENCY transmitted on that very day excerpts of Li Hou's (secretary general of Hong Kong basic law drafting committee) speech to a LIAOWANG reporter. Li Hou said: The Chinese side has no objection to democracy and reforms carried out step by step on the premise of maintaining the advantages of the existing government system in Hong Kong. Some people in Hong Kong have predicted that there will be no direct elections in the future if direct elections are not initiated in 1988. Their speculation is completely groundless. If direct elections are introduced in 1988, before the basic law is finalized in 1990, of course it will be impossible for the former to converge with the latter. It will also be unfavorable to the smooth handing over of the sovereignty of Hong Kong in 1997.

Li Hou clarified the controversial issues in his speech. However, some improper words in his speech led to questions concerning the responsibility of a LIAOWANG reporter.

Ford Hastily Gives Press Briefing

Publicity was immediately launched to counterattack Li Hou's statement. It has been reported that David Ford and John Chan gave a press briefing to reporters of foreign agencies in Hong Kong and local English and Chinese newspapers on the afternoon of 19 July. In his speech, Ford said that the Hong Kong Government is annoyed with Li Hou's statement which meddled in Hong Kong's affairs and shook the confidence of the Hong Kong people. Ford also used the term "clumsy" to describe Li Hou. He said: "Introduction of direct elections in 1988 does not run counter to the spirit of the Joint Declaration. It is the will of the majority to introduce direct elections. You can ask the residents in the streets and lanes. They are all in favor of direct elections." Direct elections in 1988 are full of promise, Ford said, and the Hong Kong Government will continue its efforts in light of "popular will" and will not yield to pressure from the Chinese side. Ford continued: "If the Chinese side wants to extricate themselves from an awkward position, they should declare their statement as quickly as possible and include direct elections in the future basic law."

A reporter asked Ford: "How do you evaluate public opinion?" Ford replied: "The government will clearly state its position on direct elections to the residents. On public occasions, however, it would be inappropriate to openly guide the residents to support direct elections. We should not let the Chinese side find any excuse for censure."

Consequently, two local Chinese newspapers carried stories the next day saying that Li Hou adopted high-handed means to meddle in Hong Kong's administration and that the government would lodge a protest through the British Government. A reporter on a certain English newspaper received information from the Hong Kong Government and wrote a report on the British Foreign Ministry's blaming Li Hou for meddling in Hong Kong's administration. However, the report was later denied by a British Foreign Ministry spokesman.

Double-dealing in the Question Concerning Convergence

On 21 June, a deputy editor in chief of a certain newspaper wrote an article (God knows where he got the information) saying: Wu Xueqian met with the Hong Kong governor on his way home via Hong Kong. This was proposed by David Wilson and the purpose was to clarify Li Hou's statement. Unexpectedly, Wu Xueqian accepted the proposal.

Actually, Wu Xueqian's meeting with Wilson was a courtesy call. Naturally, they also discussed the question of direct elections. However, the Chinese Foreign Minister did not change his attitude. As at the three previous meetings between the foreign ministers of China and Britain, the Chinese Foreign minister took a clear-cut stand and was against hastily introducing direct elections in 1988. Li Hou's statement was not involved in the meeting at all.

This deputy editor in chief continued: The leftist faction launched extensive publicity. When he discovered that this was not effective, they attacked the direct elections faction with "shock" tactics. Such high-handed means resulted in driving those who actually remained neutral into the ranks of the direct elections faction. Why did China make such an unwise decision? Are the reports given by XINHUA NEWS AGENCY Hong Kong branch to Beijing true?

This was inciting psychological warfare. First, it said that XINHUA NEWS AGENCY Hong Kong branch did not report the true situation, which resulted in Beijing making the wrong decision. Second, it stirred up resistance by the Hong Kong people against the so-called "high-handed means." Third, it said that those against 1988 direct elections were all leftists, and that when their methods were ineffective, they attacked the direct elections faction with "shock" tactics.

The criterion to judge right from wrong and sense of logic of this deputy editor in chief are really questionable. Just think, Ford made a statement favorable to direct elections, advocating that introduction of direct elections in 1988 is tantamount to "natural convergence" several days before Li Hou. Is the statement of this British official not a "high-handed means" against those who oppose 1988 direct elections? How come Li Hou's response to Ford's statement, which expounded China's position on the issue, is a "high-handed means" and "an attack against the direct elections faction?"

The deputy editor in chief further asked: "How did the entire Li Hou incident occur? With consultations made in Bangkok the British side gave a copy of the Green Paper to the Chinese side. How come the Chinese launched an offensive at this moment?"

Obviously, some people are trying to play tricks on the issue between 1988 direct elections and convergence, and practice double dealing. On the one hand, with the promise made on the question of convergence, they are actually trying to mislead the other side and make a surprise attack.

On the other hand, with the excuse of "respecting public opinion," they gave no explanation as to whether representative government should converge with the basic law or vice versa. They said that public opinion is a bridge connecting 1997 and the future. Actually, the British side started to build the bridge in advance from one side to the other and presented a fait accompli before the outcome of the basic law. The Chinese side believed that the location and central point of the bridge should first be agreed. With a blueprint drawn, the bridge will be built with convergence from both sides, with each side building half of it. Suddenly, before the geological and hydrologic surveys were conducted and a blueprint designed by the Chinese side, the British side started construction. In addition to constructing its own part, the British side crossed the river exceeded its functions, and took over the work of the Chinese side, saying: I have completed construction of the bridge in light of "public opinion." Instead of racking your brains, why don't you use my bridge?

The Chinese Side Clarifies the Charge of 'Meddling in Hong Kong Affairs'

Given this situation, the Chinese side responded to the charge of "meddling in Hong Kong affairs." On 24 June, the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman discussed the "Li Hou incident" saying: "Hong Kong's political reform must converge with the basic law. The position of the Chinese Government on relevant issues expounded by the Chinese side is in no way an interference in Britain's administration of Hong Kong during the transition period." "The structural reform in Hong Kong should converge with the basic law, otherwise, it will have a negative effect on the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong." "At a press conference held in Hong Kong in January 1986 following his visit to Beijing, Mr Renton, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, clearly pointed out: The development of the political structure in Hong Kong should converge with the basic law to avoid violent turbulence in Hong Kong. The two must converge if we want to make a success of the Joint Declaration. Only by doing so will there be a smooth transition of political regimes, and will stability and prosperity be maintained throughout the 1990's.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry made this statement with a definite objective in view. A review of the policy speeches made by his superior would enable Mr Ford to realize that the argument "meddling in Hong Kong affairs" is groundless. As a matter of fact, the Green Paper also stated that "it will take into account the relevant stipulations of the Sino-British Joint Declaration on the question of Hong Kong." Therefore, it is with the authority entrusted by the Sino-British agreement that China can declare its position and demand a smooth convergence of regimes in accordance with the stipulations of the Joint Declaration. It is also the bounden duty of the British side to handle the question of political structural reform in light of the articles of the agreement.

Is Representative Government the Opinion of the Government or the Public

Representative government itself is not an outcome of public opinion. On the contrary, it is a policy of the British Government in Hong Kong enacted from

the top. The Green Paper and White Paper of 1984 exposed the intentions of the British for the first time. The 1984 Green Paper had the following timetable and objective: The current system of selection and appointment of unofficial members by the governor should develop gradually so that the council has a considerable number of members elected by the people, "by 1991, at least 8 of the unofficial members of the Executive Council should be elected by the unofficial members of the Legislative Council from among their own number," "the governor can be selected through election by a college composed of all 'official members of the Executive and Legislative Councils after a period of consultation among them." Obviously, this is the main idea of the representative government introduced by the British. With the legislature as the core, it is a system in which the Executive Council and Chief Executive are elected by the Legislative Council.

The Green Paper entitled "The 1987 Review of Developments in Representative Government" published this year follows the direction of the 1984 Green Paper. Both the orientation of direct elections and the governor not acting as president of the Legislative Council are closely linked with the tentative idea focused on the legislature. In response to a reporter's question, a certain high-ranking official said that it is unnecessary for the Green Paper to repeat the things mentioned previously.

We should like to ask: How can such a design converge with the basic law? How can it accord with the requirements of the Sino-British agreement? How can it maintain the advantages of the existing system?

Selection of the chief executive and constitution of the legislature are separately covered in Annex I of the Sino-British Joint Declaration. Selection of the chief executive comes first, then selection of principal officials, and then constitution of the legislature. This sequence has binding force which cannot be explained as constitution of the legislature first, then the members of the Executive Council elected by the Legislative Council, and finally selection of the chief executive. Moreover, at the Guangzhou conference held in early June, the basic law drafting committee defined the functions of the Executive and Legislative Councils, which pointed out that the Executive Council and Legislative Council are equal and independent of each other. We can thus see that the representative government designed by the British Government in Hong Kong does not converge with the basic law.

The "Theory of Natural Convergence" Is Groundless

In accordance with the stipulations of the Sino-British Joint Declaration, China is responsible for the drafting of the Basic Law. If the British side wants to keep within the bounds of the Sino-British Joint Declaration, it should cooperate with and support the drafting of the basic law. At the least, it should not resist or interfere in the matter.

During the drafting of the basic law, however, the Hong Kong Government intentionally carried out reform of the representative government in an

attempt to create a political structure with the legislature instead of executive as a leading factor, present a fait accompli, and compel the Chinese side to accept it. The British side published the Green Paper and asserted that both Britain and China are soliciting public opinion. And since both sides can maintain equilibrium and reach the same objective, the reform of the government system naturally converges with the basic law. In other words, as the reform of representative government goes first, it can solicit public opinion on behalf of the basic law. In accordance with public opinion solicited by the Hong Kong Government, a representative government recognized by the Chinese side and the basic law can be set up. This is thus the real meaning of "respecting public opinion" and convergence.

This statement is groundless both legally and logically. It confuses the two concepts which, though related to each other, belong to different categories.

Legally speaking, in accordance with the stipulations of the Joint Declaration, the government system of Hong Kong in 1997 will be determined by the basic law and will remain unchanged for 50 years. The Joint Declaration has clearly pointed out: "The government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region will be composed of local inhabitants." "The chief executive will be appointed by the Central People's Government on the basis of the results of elections or consultations to be held locally." Chief officials "will be nominated by the chief executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region for appointment by the Central People's Government." "The legislature of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall be constituted by elections." "The executive authorities shall abide by the law." These articles cover affairs within the scope of China's sovereignty. They are the bounden duties China should undertake to implement the agreement. Since the British side has signed the agreement, it should acknowledge that the government system after 1997 should be determined by the basic law drafted by China rather than the public opinion solicited by the British Government in Hong Kong, still less the 1987 Review of Developments in Representative Government.

China's basic principles and policies regarding Hong Kong are clearly stated in the "elaboration" by the PRC Government (also known as Annex I). This determines that "the legislature of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall be constituted by elections" belongs to China's internal affairs. With elections mentioned in the Joint Declaration as an excuse, it is a violation of the agreement for the British side to exceed its functions, introduce elections in advance, which are to its advantage, and compel the Chinese side to accept them. If the efforts made by the British side are merely for "administration" within the 10 years transition period, but not beyond 1997, the drastic change is tantamount to dicing with the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and the interests of the Hong Kong people. The drastic change in government system will deprive Hong Kong of its advantages and upset the balance of interests between the government and various political forces and social strata. It is hard to anticipate the consequences. This runs counter to the principle of the Sino-British agreement which says that "the government of the United Kingdom will be

responsible for the administration of Hong Kong until 1997 with the object of maintaining and preserving its economic prosperity and social stability." The British side never introduced any political reform during its rule over Hong Kong for more than a century because it intended to rule over Hong Kong for a long time and paid close attention to the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong. The long-term stability of the government system benefited the fundamental interests of Britain. Facts over the century have proved that it is advantageous to the long-term prosperity and stability of Hong Kong to maintain and preserve the existing government system.

Why are the British so anxious to drastically change the government system when it is only 10 years to 1997? Because Hong Kong will no longer be under British rule after 1997. Therefore, they do not care about the long-term stability of Hong Kong. They will lose nothing even if Hong Kong is thrown into confusion. It should be noted that "transfer of power to the people" does not mean that the British can refuse to have anything more to do with Hong Kong. In fact, before the national flag of Britain is lowered, the British Parliament, Council, and governor still have the right to reject any decision of the Legislative Council, dismiss the Legislative Council, and promulgate decrees. "Direct elections" and "representative government," carried out in light of the autocratic stipulations of the "imperial edict" and "royal mandate" favorable to the British, are under absolute British control. This "democracy" is one like a "monkey show" in which the rope and whip are in the hands of the British. However, once the national flag of Britain is lowered, the "imperial edict" and "royal mandate" will no longer be effective. Consequently, the power of the Central Government of China stipulated in the Sino-British Joint Declaration should match the government system prescribed in the basic law. If the government system of Hong Kong fails to converge with the basic law and changes drastically, the whole "democratic" chess game will lose balance and be thrown into confusion when "democracy" under the control of British arbitrary rule is withdrawn in 1997. As a result, the blame for "the British can rule Hong Kong properly, while the Chinese cannot" will be laid on the Chinese side. The transfer of sovereignty characterized by drastically changing the government framework in advance so that the Chinese Government cannot exercise control over the situation does not conform to the stipulations of the Sino-British Joint Declaration on ensuring the smooth transition and transfer of sovereignty and maintaining the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong.

How Should Public Opinion in Hong Kong Be Evaluated

Viewed logically, the basic law of Hong Kong decides the government system after 1997, while the Hong Kong Government is deciding whether the British-style representative government should be further developed in 1988. Hong Kong will become a special administrative region with a high degree of autonomy under the jurisdiction of the PRC after 1997. Hong Kong will still be a colonial government system under the rule of the British Government in 1988. Even the Green Paper claims that the review "will be conducted within the framework of Hong Kong's existing constitutional arrangements." The existing constitution is based on the "imperial edict," "royal mandate," and

"regulations for service in the colony." How can public opinion solicited in the review of government system conducted under the auspices of such a constitution be identical with public opinion solicited by the basic law? With Hong Kong returning to the embrace of the motherland, the people of Hong Kong should first have national pride. Naturally, they should ask for the embodiment of state sovereignty in the basic law, a high degree of autonomy under "one country, two systems," and prosperity and stability in the 50 years after 1997. In 1988 however, Hong Kong will still be under British colonial rule where the occupier dominates everything. Given that time is running out, a short-lived reform which cannot in the slightest degree promote prosperity and stability will only harm others and not benefit itself and will create troubles for the sovereign country, irrespective of the fact that Hong Kong is a special administrative region directly under the central government. What kind of public opinion can this review of government system solicit? To prevent unnecessary setbacks in the government system, it is fair and reasonable for the Hong Kong people to demand that the government system converge with the basic law and that no drastic changes should be made prior to the drafting of the basic law. The British will have to lower their national flag and go home in 1997. Their mentality and interests cannot be identical with the Chinese who will remain in Hong Kong forever, take part in construction, and live and work in peace and contentment. As the British have 10 years left in Hong Kong, the representative government can only cover a period of 10 years. Does public opinion in Hong Kong hold that political reform under the colonial constitution will have vitality and continuity? It is an inevitable trend that the basic law drafted by China will determine the government system after 1997. Can the representative government usurp the role of the basic law? Is it not clear to the public that the Sino-British agreement has made arrangements clearly for affairs before and after 1997?

Does Representative Government Conform to the Sino-British Agreement

Since Mr Ford said that representative government and direct elections in 1988 would not violate the Sino-British Joint Declaration and the existing constitutional system, the Chinese side has to provide arguments to prove whether Mr Ford's statement is based on legal principle. Concentrating on the question of which side conforms to the Sino-British agreement and Hong Kong's constitutional system, [word indistinct] will also be carried out between the 1988 direct elections faction and those who are against direct elections. Such debate is inevitable. The side that bases its argument on legal principle will win in the debate and enable the situation of Hong Kong to advance in the direct illumination by the Sino-British Joint Declaration.

With "the government of the United Kingdom will be responsible for the administration of Hong Kong until 1997" as their argument, Mr Ford and the 1988 direct elections faction kept silent on "with the object of maintaining and preserving its economic prosperity and social stability" which constitute the latter part of the article. Conversely, the Chinese side and the personages against 1988 direct elections have gained the upper hand in legal principle by voluminously quoting articles of the agreement concerning the structure, implementation procedure, effective date, and principal and

secondary aspects of the agreement; the question of sovereignty; transfer of sovereignty; economic prosperity and social stability; and functions of the basic law. The British side, however, could not find a single word in the Sino-British agreement on representative government or an article indicating that administration is tantamount to changing the existing government system and introducing a representative government. The article "the legislature of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall be constituted by elections" quoted by the British side is actually included in the "Elaboration by the PRC Government of Its Basic Policies Regarding Hong Kong" (Annex I). Moreover, the government system will be determined by the basic law of the PRC which will remain unchanged for 50 years. It is China's internal affair to keep the system unchanged for 50 years after 1997. What legal principle does the British side have to exceed its functions and meddle in China's affairs?

Many people have asked: Why did Ford impatiently withdraw his assurances on "having no definite opinions on reform of the government system" and "truly listening to public opinion and making no attempt to guide public opinion?"

It seems that he has a special mission in assuming the office of chief secretary. 1) He is "chief of the organization department" responsible for organizing pro-British members for the post-1997 period. His intention is to promote those who behave well in the 1988 direct elections and who support the United Kingdom politically to the core of the Legislative Council so that they will become agents of Britain who are selected through elections. As the appointed members have gradually become the burden of the British side, they will be replaced by those pro-British figures who are selected through elections. If they carry out direct elections in 1991 rather than 1988, it will be disadvantageous to the emergence of "new members" and to the training of the new political stars. If direct elections are introduced after the drafting of the basic law, popular feeling will tend toward the Chinese side. With the growing influence of the Chinese side, there will be little chance for the British side to exercise control over elections. For this reason, the sooner the introduction of direct elections the better. 2) The election of pro-British figures in 1988 is tantamount to obtaining the high ground in the reform of government system. With the authority of public opinion derived from direct elections, they can accelerate a change from the Legislative Council to the legislature of the representative government without conducting any "public opinion poll" because the members selected through direct elections represent "public opinion." As the governor has no authority derived from elections, he should "consult public opinion" on all matters and "act according to public opinion." Thus, the responsibility of greater constitutional changes is shifted onto to the members of the Legislative Council who are selected through direct elections. 3) The period beginning from 1991 constitutes the latter half of the transitional period. According to Annex II of the Sino-British agreement, the Joint Liaison Group will discuss matters relating to the smooth transfer of government in 1997. With pro-British members in the Legislative Council who are selected through direct elections, the matter will be easy to handle. The representatives of "public opinion" can speak on behalf of the British side. They can serve as counters

of the British side in bargaining with Beijing. With the "threatening" weapon of "the public has no confidence" and "even the representatives of public opinion want to immigrate to other countries," Beijing will certainly make concessions. In a word, if Beijing makes a concession, they will make further demand and compel Beijing to make further concessions.

How Should We Break the Current Deadlock

How should we break the current deadlock and avoid the unnecessary political confrontation? People of all fields in Hong Kong expect that a compromise will be made. The 71-member consultative committee issued a timetable on 23 June which held that regional direct elections should be introduced in 1992 to replace the existing electoral college elections. A total of 20 members will be selected through direct elections, accounting for 25 percent of the total seats. When the framework of legislature is completed in 1994, there will be a total of 80 seats in which 50 percent will be elected by functional constituencies, 25 percent selected through direct elections, and 25 percent elected by the electoral college. This scheme is proposed on the prerequisite that there will be direct elections in the basic law promulgated in 1990. By doing so, we can avoid the problems related to convergence and also introduce direct elections.

If consensus cannot be reached among the Hong Kong people and if direct elections are hastily introduced in 1988 given the differences of political views, the differences and confrontation will be further intensified. Then it would be quite reasonable for Beijing to criticize the confrontational politics resulting from immature direct elections. The question is that the 1988 direct elections faction will not be satisfied with the 25 percent of members selected through direct elections. Their tactic is to get 25 percent of the seats first through direct elections in 1988. When the first group of members are elected to the Legislative Council, they will consider themselves representatives of public opinion and strive to get more seats in 1991, 1994, and 1997 until all-round direct elections. Actually, such greed is not realistic. Perhaps a harmonious situation can be created in Hong Kong if the 1988 direct elections faction is willing to compromise after bargaining.

A situation in which the basic law will struggle with the Green Paper for the initiative will appear in the latter half of this year. The political forces are joining up and struggling with the other. Some people regard this as "a skirmish for domination," some regard it as "a battle to enlist popular support," and some regard it as "a battle of explanations of the articles of the agreement." The result of the high tide which started in September will be made known to the public in December. This is also a political examination testing the discernment, insight, and judgment of the participants. Clever people will definitely use their wisdom to make a decision that conforms to the trend of history.

How are the British figuring out their position after 1997? As the saying goes, as you sow, so will you reap. History is always written through the deeds of the person or parties concerned. It is quite difficult for other people to do the job for them.

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